101 claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the
634 principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and
101 Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions,
634 but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present
635 distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also
known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the
Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by
refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following
instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there
614 are four clans representing genealogical not territorial
divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The
Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men
all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with
Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo
loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

561 According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the
male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first
[304] stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed
any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the
case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised
561 about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said
884 to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by
a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the
Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their
[302] hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders,
[291] and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis),
[262] go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk,
[276] and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants.
They do not live with the married people, but in
342 separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with
836 whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see
561 p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were
kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would
let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has
been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct
physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the
diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female
morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when
[177] the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come
[764] into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease
[548] have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven
561 or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden
885 somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

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[171] [1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

Districts.	Sub-Districts.	
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-osira (the-which-ĭs-decorated), Naiñgasya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.	101 634
'L-uasin-gishu [1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).	
'L-Aikipyak [1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-añg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.	

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel. 193 552

Alo 'N-aiposha	I go to Naivasha.	
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.	

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves. 561 [805]

Eata 'l-Maasae 'l-porori lenye.	The Masai have what they call ages.	561 539
Memurati 'n-gera te-'wēji nēbo. Eduñg áitaa 'l-porori, metushuli áitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pôkin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.	Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).	[881]
Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki aamurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,	Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the	

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[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

561 539 naa ol-poror ŏbo illo. Netoni 'l-ooti. Ore pe ebulu, nemurati si ninje, nejiñg illo-poror.

Ore 'l-ooitŏkini aamurat te-kurum, naa likae-poror illo, nĕji ninye e-murata e-kedyanye. Netoni sii 'l-ooti, nemurati si ninje, nejiñg illo-poror.

Ore 'l-porori aare ĕji ol-aji ŏbo.

Ore ti-atwa ol-poror ŏbo nĕoriori kat'-uni: etii ''L-chañgen-ŏpir,' netii ''L-tareto,' netii ''L-paringŏtwa lañg.'

right-hand circumcision, and that is one age. The younger ones wait and are circumcised later. They also become members of this age.

When the next circumcision festivals are held, those circumcised belong to what is called the left-hand circumcision, and that is the next age. The younger ones wait as before, and when they are circumcised they likewise join this age.

Now, two ages are considered equivalent to one generation.

Each age has three divisions, first, those known as 'The big ostrich feathers,' secondly, those called 'The helpers,' and thirdly, those known as 'Our fleet runners[1].'

561 805 Il-porori loo-'l-Maasae oodamuni taata. Masai ages which are now remembered.

E-murata e-tatene (Right-hand circumcision).	E-murata e-kedyanye (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate date.	
Il-Kinyŏyo		1791	one generation.
	Il-Tapari	1799	
Il-Kigiriyo		1806	one generation.
	Il-Kisalie (the people of the plain)	1814	
Il-Kupai (the white swords)		1821	one generation.
	Il-Kimirisho (those who drive away)	1829	

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561 881 [1] When permission has been granted to hold the circumcision festivals (*vide* p. 296), one feast is held in each sub-district every year for four years in succession, and all those circumcised during these four years belong to the right-hand circumcision. An interval of about three and a half years then intervenes before another festival is held. All youths circumcised during the next four years belong to the left-hand circumcision. As an instance, a man born in 1872 would either belong to 'Our fleet runners' of the Il-Ñgarbut age or to 'The big ostrich feathers' of the Il-Kipŏni age, i. e. he was circumcised in 1885 or 1889. Boys as a rule are circumcised when they are between thirteen and seventeen years old. Orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty.

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E-murata e-taiene (Right-hand circumcision).	E-murata e-kedyanye (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate date.	
Il-Kijaru (those who do not give back)		1836	one generation.
	Il-Kieku (the long-bladed spears)	1844[1]	
Il-Churunye (those who fight openly or by day) *or* Il-Kidōtu (the pullers up)		1851	one generation.
	Il-Twati (the rich ones) *or* Il-Mirishari (those who are not driven away)	1859	
Il-Nyañgusi (those who capture for themselves)		1866	one generation.
	Il-Merisho *or* 'L-aimer (the pursuers)	1874	
Il-Ñgarbut (the gluttons) *or* Il-Kishumu (the raiders)		1881	one generation.
	Il-Kipōni *or* Il-Chungen (those who increase)	1889[2]	
Il-Kishon (the lives) *or* 'Sōure (the lucky ones) *or* Il-Kitoip		1896[3]	one generation.
	Il-Meitarōni (those who are not conquered)	March 1904[4]	

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[1] When Krapf wrote his *Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob* in 1854, he mentioned (p. 14) that the men who were able to marry were called Ekieko (Il-Kieku), and that the old men were known as Elkijaro *or* Elkimirisho. This account entirely agrees with the above table of dates.

[2] Lenana and Sendeyo (*vide* note on p. 326) belong to this age. Shortly after it commenced the great cattle plague broke out (1890).

[3] In Taveta the corresponding age, 'Sōure, was commenced on May 7, 1897, a few months after it had been started in Masailand. Each Taveta age covers a period of about fifteen years, i.e. there is no left-hand circumcision. *Vide The Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1901.

[4] The circumcision festivities were commenced in September, 1903.

[113]

'N-DÍUN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI CUSTOMS

301 Seghenge oo-'murto oo 'surutya oo-'ñgurôyok, oo 'n-gulye-tôkitin.

[585] [554] Neji pe eata 'ñgurôyok i-seghenge oo-'murto oo 'surutya eji p' eiytôloni 'njere 'ñgurôyok kunde.

[881] Amu itadua, 'l-Maasae emurat in-doiye etaa bôtore, neji p'eori en-dito o e-ñgurôyêni.

Amu ten epali 'ñgurôyok meata 'seghenge oo-'murto araki 'surutya, nemeiytôloni e-ñgurôyêni o en-dito.

88 54 Itadua, en-dito namurati too-'l-Maasae neji en-dito eji e-ñgurôyêni: kake eji e-siangiki oo metôlabo.

Ten a kiti naleñg, naa e-ñgurôyêni ake etiu neja.

301 554 Eiytôloni e-ñgurôyêni too-'n-dôkitin uni, 'surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'l-okasena. Nemeata 'n-doiye kunna pôkin.

'Museteni epika 'n-doiye oo 'n-gutiti-seghenge ndirina, naaji 'seengani, o ol-gilisheni, oo 'n-gulye-kutiti-tôkitin naapik i-murto, 'l-piaya loo-'n-giyaa, oo 'seghenge oo-'ng-aik, oo 'n-oo-'n-gejek.

Women's iron necklaces and ear-rings, and other matters.

The reason why women wear necklaces of iron and ear-rings (called 'surutya) is in order that it shall be known that they are married.

The Masai circumcise girls when they grow up, and these ornaments are worn to make a distinction between girls and women.

For if the women were left without the iron necklaces or the ear-rings, it could not be ascertained whether they were women or girls.

A Masai girl who has been circumcised is not called girl but woman. That is to say, she is called young woman until she gives birth to a child.

Even if she is very young, she is considered to be grown up as soon as she has been circumcised.

A woman is recognisable by three things, the ear-rings, the iron-necklace, and the big garment, none of which girls possess.

Girls wear beads, small pieces of iron wire (called 'seengani), and other trifles round their necks, and a small cloth. They also have chains in their ears, and armlets and anklets of iron.

'l-omon loo-'l-loñgi oo 'm-bèria oo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

Itadaa, 'l-loñgi oo-'l-muran mepiki o-sirei obo; torioru.

Metii ol-porror lemeata o-sirei lenye, meñgar sii 'l-oshon i-sirei, metii 'l-muran lo-'l-osho lemeata o-sirei lenye.

Amu ilo pe ten etumo 'l-muran oo 'l-mañgati, neiyolloni 'ajore ol-porror ilo, kake lo-'l-osho ilo.

Eiti 'sirei oongwan loo-'l-loñgi, o-sirei onyokye, o o-sirei orok, o o-sirei le-'l-loñgo, o o-sirei loo-'l-kipolosi.

Ore 'm-bèria oo-'l-muran mepiki sii o-sirei obo; torioru.

Ore ten edoll em-bere, neiyolloni to-'l-ñgurasi ol-porror ilo ol-openy, o ol-osho ilo.

Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.

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The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.

Each age and each sub-district has its own design.

In consequence, if the warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age such a one belongs, and also to what sub-district.

There are four markings for the shields, the red one, the black one, the ornamental one, and the one for bravery[1].

Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.

If a spear is found, it can be ascertained by looking at the lower part to what age and also to what sub-district its owner belongs.

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'l-omon loo-'m-bae oo-'l-moruak loo-'l-Maasae.

Eata 'l-moruak i-sirei lenye too-'m-bae anaa eata 'l-muran too-'m-bèria.

Ten edoll em-bae, neiyolloni ol-aji le-'l-openy o ol-osho lenye.

Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.

The old men have special marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.

If an arrow is found, the generation and the sub-district to which its owner belongs can be recognized.

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[1] The Masai make use of four colours in ornamenting their shields—white, red, black, and grey. White is obtained by mixing water with white clay; red clay mixed with the juice of the *Solanum campylacanthum*, Hochst., produces the red paint; black is procured from the ashes of *Marua uniflora*, Vahl., or from charred potsherds and gourds; and grey, which is but rarely used, is obtained from cinders.

[386]

[78] [304] nenapi ol-chôni otii o-sarge, neipiki e-rnat enye.

Ore ten eidipi aaitamurat il-ayiok, aiji 'Sipolio.

Netoni 'ng-olôdigi oñgwan ti-aiñg, neitobiraki 'ng-ai.

Ore 'm-baa enye nepetyoki 'ng-orongitai pe, ten eñgiria 'n-doiye, nemeim i-ssemi.

[223] Neishori meshimo aalilita, neñgor in-daritik aapik il-loghony; aapik sii 'l-tyin.

Eayuri naleñg 'l-sipolio eitobir anaa 'ñgoroyok aapik i-surutya oo 'l-kilani. Neair sii 'ng-omomita te-'n-dareto.

Ore p' eishiu pôkin, nebarni, neaku 'L-barnot. Ore p' eaku 'L-barnot, neitan 'l-kilani, neishop in-dikitin oo-'l-muran.

561 Ore pe eshitu 'l-taighen, aiji 'L-muran.

Ore enyor il-muran naleñg ten eiji 'L-oiñgok araki 'N-gaminini, amu eishori naishopo 'n-dwalan araki 'l-torongen.

554 Ore eiji 'l-muran 'l-oiñgok ten eidim aataar il-meek kumok.

hide on which is the blood is carried by the boy and placed on his bed.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Sipolio (*recluse*).

They remain at home *for four* days, and bows are prepared for them.

They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blocked with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

They also shoot small birds[1], which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The *Sipolio* like to appear as women and wear the *surutya* ear-rings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-barnot (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-muran (warriors)[2].

The warriors are fond of the titles 'L-oingok (the bulls) and 'N-gaminini (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called il-torongen.

Now to become one of the Oingok, a warrior must kill many savages,

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[136] [1] The bird which the Sipolio wear round their heads is the mouse bird (*Colius affinis*, Shelley). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shoot these birds.

[2] This word is commonly but incorrectly written Elmoran.

Neeli 'l-kilani le-'ñgorōyōni, neishop, neishori em-ḅukuri naripakino 'seghera 'matwan pōkin. Neitanaṗi eng-orioñg, neriki eng-añg o-'l-móruo lenye, nerubare ol-móruo, oo 'l-tuñganak aare 'l-chorusta lenyena, oo 'n-gituak are e-'ng-añg e-'ñgorōyōni.

Nemesiōyo, erikitoi elo akiti oo metabai. Ore pe ebaiki, neishori en-gerai, neitōti.

Ten eiyam ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni, nemeipot eng-arna enye, amu torono. Eduñgōki ae-arna. Enyor naleñg aipotye eng-arna o-'l-poror lenye, anaa 'Ŋ-oo-'Sēure.

Ten eata ol-tuñgani oo-'l-Maasae 'n-gíshu kumok, neidim aiyama 'ñgorōyok kumok. Etii kulikae ooiyam 'ñgorōyok are, ana uni, ana oñgwan; kake eiyam il-karsisi, ten eiyōu, tomon ana tigitām.

Ten eiyam ol-Maasani kat'-are araki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-aini ol-ashe, naa ninye eimalye eng-aini ajo Ṗaashe.

Meidim il-Maasae áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-aji enye ten etoni to-'l-osho ōbo, kake eidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'n-gishōmi enye, neidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-ae-kishōmi.

585 After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home.

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

551 593 777 When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. [561] ●

595 If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty.

595 431 When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paashe, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf.

582 No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan.

682 oikopani eitu emut il-arin aare, amu ějo eton eshal el-lughunya e-lido ōtaaraki.

Ten ĕar ol-Maasani likae-Maasani, nĕji, 'Eitayo 'l-oikop'; mĕji, 'Etaarishe.' Nĕji ol-ōtaarishe naa ol-ōtaara 'l-meek.

683 Naa, ten ĕar ol-murani ol-likae, pe eduñg en-giok, neishooyo lido ōtuduñgo ol-likae e-supen e-kerr. Naa, ten ĕar ol-likae, negil ol-oito, a ol-le-'n-geju, a ol-le-'ng-aina, a ol-le-'l-lughunya, neishooyo en-dauwo.

682 Naa, ten ĕari ol-ayōni metua, melaki anaa ol-murani, kake eishoori 'l-buñgaiko onom.

En-giopo.

684 [561] Metii ol-murani araki ol-ayōni oidim ataboitare en-gitok o-'l-poror le-menye. Ten eiyōlōuni, nedeki.

Ore ten edeki, neishooyo 'n-gishu are, en-e-'n-aisho, naaropye 'l-paiyani pe medek. O ol-kiteñg-ōyeñg il-paiyani ten ĕok en-aisho.

836 837 [561] Kake meikōni nĕja ten eboitare 'n-gituak araki 'n-doiye o-'l-poror lenye. 'Me torono inna.

Masai until two years have elapsed, for they say that the dead man's head is still fresh[1].

When one Masai kills another, it is called committing murder, it is not called killing. Killing is only used when referring to savages.

If a warrior strikes another and tears the lobe of his ear, he has to pay a young ewe. If he breaks a bone, either in his leg, arm, or head, he has to pay a heifer.

If a boy is murdered, the amount which has to be paid is not as great as for a warrior, the price being fifty young bulls.

Adultery.

No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed.

Should he be cursed, he pays two oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine.

But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence[2].

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[1] This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relations are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say 100 head of cattle.

[595] [2] From this it will be seen that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

Ten eboitare ol-móruo en-gerai enye araki en-o-'l-poror lenye, torono. Ten eniñg ol-poror lenye, nēari, negili eng-añg, nēyeñgi 'n-gīshu náiyōuni.

'M-bwat.

Nēji en-dōki naji em-bwata, naa 'l-ala aare eitauni li-abori.

Neitauni te-'ng-alem.

Eisho 'l-Maasae: nebwa 'n-gera enye kat'-are. Ten eīni en-gerai, pe ebaya 'l-apaitin isyet, etubulutua 'l-ala pôkin, nebwai. Netonii.

Nepwo 'l-ala pôkin, neiñgwari 'l-opa-ootubulutua. Ore p' eitōki aabulu 'l-ala pôkin, nebaya en-gerai anaa en-oo-'l-arin tomon o aare, nebwai em-bwata e-kitoo, nemeitōki aabulu.

Ore p' eidip aatōbwa en-gerai, nesirieki eng-omom il-mur loo-'sirkon, nēji: 'I'rōbija.'

Ore opa p' eiteruaki aabwa 'l-tuñganak ēji, pe ten emweiyu ol-tuñgani, p' eitere, neony il-ala, neimyeki eng-are inna-bwata natōbwaki opa.

If an old man commits adultery with his daughter or with a girl of her age, it is considered a serious crime. The other old men if they hear of it beat him, pull down his kraal, and slaughter whichever of his cattle they want. 684 [561]

The extraction of teeth. 304 752

There is something called em-bwata, which means the extracting of the two middle incisors of the lower jaw.

A knife is used with which to perform the operation.

The Masai extract their children's two middle teeth twice. They extract them first of all when the child is about eight months old, and all its teeth have grown. Then they wait.

After the child has lost all its milk teeth and obtained the permanent set, i. e. when it is about twelve years old, the teeth are extracted a second time, and never grow again.

When a child has had its teeth extracted, donkey's dung is put on its face in order to cool it. [237]

The origin of this custom of extracting teeth was to enable people, in the event of a man falling ill or being on the point of death, when his teeth would pain him, to pour water through the orifice[1].

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[1] Hinde (*The Last of the Masai*, p. 42) writes: 'The origin of this custom is supposed to date back to a time when tetanus was a great scourge amongst the Masai, and they discovered that it was a comparatively simple matter to feed a man suffering from lockjaw if two of his front teeth were missing.' [113]

621 the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors",
called *ol manyatta*, pl. *i manyat*. According to **Merker**,[18] "in every
[634] section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the
warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to
● [561] the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial
unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and
territorial organisation for its tenants are gathered from different
villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power.[19]

* * *

614 Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en daloshi*, pl. *in daloishin*, which seem to provide a basis for clan organisation. Every
Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after
cattle, one: *orok kiteng* — the black cattle, the other: *oodo mongi* —
the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties,
761 but, they seem to have an influence on military organisation. "Whe-
614 never", writes **Hollis**,[20] "the representatives of the clans take
part in a raid", they are organised according to their moiety, and
the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main
groups".[21] **Merker**, states that the words *orok kiteng* and *oodo
mongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety.
Fosbrooke,[22] writes that the *orok kiteng* "are regarded as the
right hand of the tribe", and the *oodo mongi* as the "left hand".
He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

614 At the present there is no apparent relationship between the
634 moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest
that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laitokitok
section, according to **Fox**[23] there is an equal number of "black

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[18] **Merker**, *l.*, *c.*, p. 82.

[19] **Bernardi**, *l.*, *c.*, p. 325.

[20] **Hollis**, *l.*, *c.*, p. 260.

[21] See also **Merker**, *l.*, *c.*, p. 97; **Fox**, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 457; **Hobley**, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge 1910, p. 121, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-bree-ding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and tactical movements. See **Emley**, *The Turkana of Kolosia District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1927, pp. 165 s.

[22] **Fosbrooke**, *l. c.*, p. 48.

[23] **Fox**, *l. c.*, p. 457.

the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the 648
system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted 642
tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and 175
Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. It Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court.[34] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the [561]
Nasai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Governement.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by 756
FOSBROOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired 756
such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf 791
of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

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[34] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories*. Part I — *East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognized by the Masai who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". And with regard to the new development he notes, p. 175, that "the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists'. He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 294: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

756 tices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints,
791 and may also prove useful in procuring success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonials affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes." Therefore, it is clear first that the prophet is essentially a private practictioner, and secondly that his promotion to the higher stages of the practice derive primarily from his personal skill and good luck which give him reputation and, hence, influence on tribal matters. It is significant, however, that the prophet, even when he has reached the highest stage "retains the duties of the two previous stages", in other words, he does not cease to be a private practitioner. Therefore, the title "Chief which Fosbrooke also uses, does not properly describe the prophet's office and makes it Medicine Man", more formal than it really is.[35] It is for the same over-formalisation that our early authorities and the Administration were misled in the evaluation of the prophet institution.[36]

III - PRELIMINARIES TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

● 561 The age-system of the Masai consists essentially in a structure of age-classes distinguished from one another in terms of seniority. An age-class is instituted as the final result of a long course of initiation ceremonies, performed during an official approved time.

The age-class must be distinguished from other minor groups such as the age-units. These are formed at different stages of the initiation course as intermediate steps to the establishment of the age-class. The age-class follows from the merging and unification of two age-units.

The Masai term for age-class is *old aje*, pl. *il ajijik*; for age-unit, *ol poror*, pl. *il poror*.[37] These terms are frequently rendered into

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[114] [35] Indeed Fosbrooke is unable to decide wether the *laibon* is the chief medicine man of the section or tribe.

[36] See also below, and on the relationship of the prophetinstitution to the structure of the age-system as a whole see Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 323, 331.

[37] Merker, *l. c.*, pp. 70 ss.; Hollis, *l. c.*, pp. 122, 261 ss.; Leaky, *l. c.*, pp. 191 ss.; Fox, l. c., p. 449; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 25.

English as 'generation' and 'age', respectively. Such a terminology 561
is too vague and of little assistance in shedding light on the matter.

Sometimes the Masai apply those terms alternatively to the class or to the units, [38] but usually *ol aje* stands for the broader and final association i. e., the age-class, and *ol poror* for the temporary association i. e., the age-unit.

Age-class membership is obtained through initiation, and is 561
held for life. The initiation course is opened by some preliminary 881
ceremonies. These must be performed before any individual member may be initiated singly or in a group. Analysis shows that the importance of these ceremonies in connection with the institution of an age class varies greatly. There are four such ceremonies: 1) *Epolos e-siita*; 2) *Embolosata*; 3) *Endungore*; 4) *Engibata*. [39]

Epolos E - Sita, "The passing of the fence". [40] "A Masai child", 881
states HOLLIS, "cannot be circumcised until the father has observed 593
a custom called "The passing of the fence". The ceremony consists in a period of four days segregation. The candidate's father lives in a special hut set apart from the village, where he also takes his food. During this time he wears the clothes, decorations and weapons of a warrior. On the last day he is taken back to the village by some elders. Before he enters the house where the ceremonial wine is kept, he is addressed five times by one of the elders thus: "Go, become an old man". He refuses saying: "Ho, I shall not". At the fifth time, he replies – "Ho, I have gone then". He then, enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father

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[38] WHITEHOUSE, *Masai Social Customs*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 3, 1913, p. 146; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449.

[39] It is a widely held opinion that the institution of the Masai age-class is based entirely on the circumcision cermony. Actually it is not uncommon to find the term "circumcision" used as an alternative to age-system and its groups.This opinion is partly justified by the expressions "right-hand circumcision", *emurata tatene*, and ".eft-hand circumcision", *emurata kedyenye*, applied by the Masai to the first and second age-units, *il poror*, that forms a single ageclass, *ol aje*.

It is a fact that circumcision is one of the outstanding ceremonies of the initiation course. However, it should be realised that circumcision is not identical with initiation, and above all that the institution of the age-unit as well as the age-class does not arise inmediately out of circumcision. Therefore the tendency to make everything connected with Masai age-system gravitate towards circumcision is misleading.

[40] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 294 ss.

881 of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make
593 a profit. He answers: "Herds and flocks". This is repeated four
times, and the ceremony is over".

554 The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely
561 when he "wishes to have his eldest child circumcised". This par-
881 ticular circumstance shows that by "the passing of the fence" a
593 man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have
all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the "passing of the fence" is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

[565] Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. "The passing of the fence" gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members.[41]

881 "*The tearing of the ox*" (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*).[42] Though this
634 ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections,
[184] its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout
Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by FOSBROOKE,
[114] who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke.

881 As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony
561 performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first
634 to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

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[41] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See BERNARDI, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[42] FOX, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11; 1927, p. 15, n. 61; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 27.

do not hold their own ceremony come to, or acknowledge, the Kakonyuke ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted. 881 561

Embolosat is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony, but also to any other initiation ceremony. [634]

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the naming of the age-unit.

a) The ceremony is organised by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*ol opolos ol Kiteng*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some heifers.

The transaction is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' nominee is then seized in order that he may not escape, and told what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Lugumai* clan. The *ol opolos* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (*surutya*) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which seems the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. The status of the *ol opolos* is ceremonial and, according to Fox, he has no function outside the *Embolosat*. [614] [554]

The *ol opolos* has to supply the ceremonial bull, " without blemish, colour black with white breast ",[43] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion.[44]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially introduce the *ol opolos* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *ol opolos*. Then, the elders order the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section.[45]

Members of the Kakonyuke section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is [634]

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[43] In the Annual Report, *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11, we are told that the " black ox is fed one day on milk and native beer, not being allowed to eat grass ".

[44] According to LEAKEY a special new village is built.

[45] LEAKEY writes that " only three candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their houses while the ceremony takes place ".

88 | in sight. Victory consists in getting a hold of the bullock by its
56 | right horn and maintaining the grip.

c) After the contest the bull is smothered, and skinned; rings are made out of the skin and distributed by the *ol opolos.*[46] " The meat is eaten and the elders go to a place apart to pray to God for the boys. The age is then given a name which is kept until the *E-Unoto* ceremony, which takes place some years later ". (Fox).

The bones of the ox are burnt and the fire is guarded to avoid any evil spell being cast on it.

Eventually the boys return to their homes and wait for their turn to be circumcised.

The fact that " only the right hand circumcision ", i. e. the first of the two age-units of an age class, performs the ceremony is essential to an analysis of the significance of *Embolosat.*[47] It means that *Embolosat* is the first ceremony of the initiation which institutes the class, and not simply of the initiation which institutes the age-unit. Indeed the left hand circumcision, i. e. the junior age-unit of the class, does not perform *Embolosat*, and therefore the senior age-unit acting at *Embolosat* does it on behalf of the whole class. *Embolosat* should then be regarded as the starting point of a new class, opening the period during which the class is instituted. This specific value of *Embolosat* is confirmed by the acceptance on the part of all the Masai of the Kakonyuke ceremony. We do not know the reason why this ceremony should have such a paramount importance, but its social significance seems to be a thoroughly established fact. LEAKEY states that " only one ox-seizing ceremony (is held) in the whole Masai country, before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcison ". This statement is qualified by Fox in the sense that *Embolosat* is also performed by other sections, as we mentioned above, but the Kakonyuke must first perform it. Of the Kisongo FOSBROOKE writes: " the elders are extremely vague as to its (of *Embolosat*) meaning, but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul ".

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[46] According to LEAKEY, the *ol opolos* is given a thong made from the skin and he is supposed never to throw it away, an obligation which does not apply to the youths who are given the rings.

[47] In the chart of Masai " age-grades " arranged by FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 24, *embolossi* is shown as taking place before the two circumcision periods of the age-units. This does not agree with the evidence offered by Fox.

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The value of the Kakonyuke *Embolosat* is further ascertained from the analogous value of *Ngeherr* proper of the Kisongo. This is a ceremony perfecting the institution of a class. It is performed by the Kisongo and accepted by all the Masai of Tanganyika and Kenya. *See below.* 881 561 634

The fact that sections other than the Kakonyuke hold their own ceremony may probably be ascribed to the tendency of the section to act as independent group. Their performance, at any rate, has only a limited local value.

Endungore – Engibata. [48] It appears that these two ceremonies, *Endungore* and *Engibata* are closely connected, if not actually one single ceremony. [49] The aim of *Endungore-Engibata* is to define the period for the institution of the age-units and start the initiation course related to such institution. The ceremony is performed by "the right hand and the left hand" age units, i. e. before the institution of each of the two units (WHITEHOUSE, MERKER, FOSBROOKE). 881 561

Some of our authorities stress the fact that the first step towards initiation must be taken by the boys. This is true, but the decision to hold the ceremony rests entirely with the elders, and the aim of the candidates' action on the elders is merely to convince that the time is ripe for the decision.

The elders contacted by the boys are members of the class next but one above the class which is to be formed by the candidates. [50]

It is not the leading elders that the candidates contact first, but others, whose duty, apparently, is to instruct them on the right way and method of approaching the leaders of the elders' class.

Those who are to see the elders are selected with care. They "must be pure bred Masai and must have some knowledge of ceremonial routi[illegible]" (DAWSON).

It is relevant to note these details. They show how the prospec-

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[48] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61; BAGGE, *The circumcision ceremony among the Nawasha Masai*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 34, 1904, p. 168; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 196; LEAKEY, 187 ss.; FOX, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenia Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 16, 1930, pp. 448 ss.; WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 146 ss.; DAWSON, *Notes on (a) Engapata ceremony, (b) milk drinking ceremony, (c) Ol Keremby*, pp. 1 ss.; *NAD*, 1932, p. 22, n. 63; *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 16 s, 27 s.

[49] According to WHITEHOUSE *engibata* is the name of a dance which starts the *endugore*.

[50] In these and the following paragraphs whenever we refer to the elders" we intend the members of this class, unless otherwise stated.

881 tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically
561 trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class,
i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning,
that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

The messengers (*ol amal* - message) wear warriors' garments
881 and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one"
561 (WHITEHOUSE).[51]

203 Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader
(*aigwenan*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf
[431] of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey.
The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

881 It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore*
561 is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Engibata*) in full array[52] followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* = the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. "In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron*" (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *aigwenani*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say = *Ol piron lang elle, kira nalo.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce fire as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates. 881 561

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[51] It is cont lear whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *amal*-boys number from six to twelf, DAWSON 29, FOSBROOKE 9. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

[301] [52] Three rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the
[302] first wears ostrich-feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all
[292] the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.

The next stage of *Endungore-Engibata* is the election of the unit leader (*aigwenani*). This office is not popular with the boys, [53] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern. [54] The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WHITEHOUSE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes. [55] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *aigwenani* is a black club, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new elect. [782]

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them. [56] These are called *mejengema*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk. [57] [302]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks [58] is also

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[53] For the same reason given for the *ol opolos*.

[54] WHITEHOUSE states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves". On the other hand FOX, *l. c.*, p. 450, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61, states the boys elect one of their member.

[55] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Engidongi* clan, the clan of the *laibon*. [614]

[56] According to DAWSON, the *mejengema* must be 49 if the ceremony is for the 'right-hand' unit; 48, if the ceremony is for the 'left-hand' unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[57] "The *mejengema*", writes DAWSON, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Aigwenani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a *kudu* horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ho' from the *mejengema*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ho'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mejengema*. [534]

[58] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other entirely black!) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and [782]

881 561 solemny performed. The festival lasts three days, during which none of the candidates are allowed to leave the place. It is only at the third day that they remove all decorations and are allowed "to cross the stream".

The fourth day after the sacrifice, all candidates are informed by their leader that they are free to return home, and on doing so he warns them that they must be honest and loyal. With this *Endungore-Engibata* is over.

The relationship between the elders and the candidates, the *il piron* relationship, offers a special subject of analysis.

As stated above, the elders in question are members of the class next but one above the class to be formed by the initiation of the candidates. The gradation marking the two classes perhaps offers the clue to discovering why the sponsors of the candidates must be members of a definite class. We know from the rhythm of Masai class-system that the class next but one above the class of the candidates is generally the class of the fathers of the candidates. The [554] *piron*-elders, therefore, possess the same social status as the fathers of the candidates. Hence, being on the same social level, the *piron*-elders possess the social capacity to be sponsors for the candidates. Such sponsorship brings about a mutual relationship between the two classes, a relationship respected by members of the classes concerned throughout their life.

The *piron*-elders have a real authority over the candidates so that no ceremony connected with initiation may be started by the candidate without the approval of the elders. The piron-relationship is officially established at the *Endungore* ceremony. [39]

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[782] their blood is drunk in turn by the *mejengema* and all candidates. Then two of the elders smear the face of the candidates with the bullocks' heart. The elders must be of the 'right-hand' unit, but they are assisted by two of the 'left-hand'. who take their place when they are tired. The meat is distributed among the elders (if warriors, i. e. the last initiates, are attending, they are not supposed to be seen eating meat in public), and the usual sacrificial hide rings are prepared for all those present. All the time the bones of the animals are watched to prevent stealing for the purpose of magic, and finally they are burnt out and all the remains buried underground.

[39] That the *piron*-elders take a strong view of their power is shown by a case reported by FOSBROOKE, pp. 16 s. In February, 1939, after *Endungore* had been performed, "a *Dwati* elder (i. e. senior elder, member of the clas next but two above the candidate of the time) decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local *Dareto* (the *piron*-elders), hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his *boma* (vil-

Endungore-Engibata is performed both by the 'right-hand' and the 'left-hand' age units. This shows that the ceremony has a direct effect on the institution of the age units as such and not as coefficients of the age-class. The formation of the age unit takes place during an official period in which all its prospective members must be properly initiated. This official period is primarily defined by the performance of *Endungore-Engibata*. 881 561

Endungore-Engibata obtains its value by emphasizing the negative aspect of the new initiation period, namely by making it illegal, a new *piron*-relationship having been established, to initiate any one except on the new *piron*-elders' authority, and by closing the association of further members to the previous age-unit. [60]

Engibata, therefore is to be considered as the opening ceremony for the institution of the age unit. After *Engibata* candidates are legally initiated and automatically, i. e. precisely for having been initiated during a definite approved period, become members of that age unit.

From a territorial point of view *Endungore-Engibata* is a sectional ceremony. It is performed by minor territorial sections, but no single performance is acknowledged throughout Masailand, as in the case of *Emboloeat*. This makes clear the different value of *Emboloeat* and of *Endungore-Engibata*. *Emboloeat* opens the period for the institution of the age-class, and therefore its value is accepted [634] [184]

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lage) and drank the beer themselves. It is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the *laibon* had given his sanction for the circumcision, the *Dareto* elders would have been justified in acting as they did". Note the prophet's limited authority.

[60] This is clearly shown by the case reported by FOSBROOKE and quoted in previous footnote. The *Dwavi* man had failed to inform the *Dareto* elders (the *piron*-elders) of his intention, and very probably his sons' initiation was intended to be performed by the outgone *piron*-elders. If the *Dwati* man had his own way, his sons would have become members of the last age-unit, but illegaly: hence the so strong objection of the *Dareto* elders. The above explanation is confirmed by what MERKER, pp. 70 s., states, namely that a fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, could be formed by those who were circumcised immediately before the official closing of the period for individual initiation. See below. In *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54, we read as follows: " the Officer in charge reported that a number of *layok*. (uncircumcised boys) who would have been too old to await the next '*Ngebata*' were circumcised and incorporated in the *Kidoto* age". Probably this is a similar case as that referred to by MERKER. The case shows that there is a definite closing time for every set. After this time every new initiate will be associated with a new set.

881 by all the Masai. It is performed by the first group of class members
561 (right-hand unit), but, as it were, on behalf of the whole class. *Endungore-Engibata* opens the period for the institution of the age unit. It is performed by the first batch of unit-members, who can be said to act on behalf of all their unit-mates.

Endungore-Engibata cuts the period which was opened by *Embolosat* into two sub-periods during which the age-units are instituted.

To these two ceremonies, *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*, correspond two closing ceremonies having analogous effects and limitations. Thus, every age-unit is officially closed by the performance of the *Unoto* ceremony, and the class is officially closed by the performance of the *Ngeherr* proper.

The problem of the interval between these ceremonies will be discussed below.

IV - INDIVIDUAL INITIATION [61]

881 Individual inititation, or the first initiation of individual members, is effected through the circumcision ceremonial.

This initiation is not, territorially, a sectional ceremony, but it is performed at any village where candidates are found. The ceremony is enacted by small (2 or 3: FOSBROOKE), [62] or perhaps larger (MERKER), [63] groups of candidates, or even singly (FOSBROOKE, and HOLLIS), [64] and the latter seems to be the general rule according to (FOX), [65] The guiding principle seems to be that a candidate must be initiated at his father's village. [66]

The expression " individual initiation " describes how each and every candidate is expected to pass through it, and how the cerethe warriors with milk. This seems to be the feast that MERKER refers to as " the feast of the circumcised boys – *ol ogor lel aijok amerate* ". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed. 881 [574]

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[61] BAGGE, *l. c.*, pp. 168 ss.; MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 61 ss.; HOLLIS, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, pp. 148 s.; *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 190 ss.; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, pp. 190 s.; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

[62] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

[63] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 62.

[64] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28; HOLLIS, l. c., p. 297.

[65] HOLLIS, *The Nandi*, Oxford 1909, p. 190.

[66] " Each boy... at his own village separately " states FOX, *Notes on Mariage Customs among the Masai*, p. 190; and FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28, writes " ... in the father's boma (village) ". The coming together of few candidates for initiation makes the performance easier and economic. Thus, for a purely economic reason the children of poor parents frequently wait longer than others for initiation.

c) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (used also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are called *es sibolio*, pl. *i-sibolio* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other: if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence [302] they are called the shaved ones – *ol barnoti* pl. *el barnot*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a spear, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to et their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are [302] very proud. [73] At this later stage the initiates will be called *ol morani*, pl. *el moran*, i. e. those who have been circumcised.

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai them- 884 selves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. 881 The evidence shows clearly tbat the expression " becomes a man " does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a senior [582] initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. [74] A newly circum- 561 cised (i. e. a junior, and to some extent also a senior initiate) may

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[73] On this particular custom, cfr. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 143; ELLIOT, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, n. 26, pp. 80 ss.

[74] The seniority of the age units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the text above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See below, where LEAKEY and FOX are cited.

561 not possess cattle of his own (cattle are the property of his father), and therefore he cannot form his own family which wuld not kelp nt. He may not eat meat in public; he may not drink milk on his own, but only with some of his age-unit mates; he is expected to live in a special segregated village; and as a member of the age unit, he is, individually as well as corporately, under the social and political authority of the elders. Finally, from the military point of view, although he is allowed to take part in raids or other police action, he is still considered a learner and is expected to accompany the senior initiated in order to be trained properly.

[884] The expression, then, " becomes a man " is merely an anticipation of a status not yet attained but towards which the first approved step has been taken.

561 554 Individual initiation causes a boy to become a full member of an age-unit, and thereby he is introduced into the active and governing sections of society. Indeed, in the present cultural situation of the Masai, circumcision is the main ceremony of individual initiation, and is the essential requirement for unit and class- membership. However, the initiate's membership into a definite unit or class derives primarily not from his individual initiation, but from the initiation being performed during the period for the institution of that unit or class. It is, therefore, from finding himself within a definite period that a Masai initiate obtains a definite place in the structure of his own society. Indeed, this structural effect of time on the initiate is the essential point of the age-system as a phenomenon relevant to social structive.[75]

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V – THE AGE-UNITS AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP[76]

The two age-units of a class are called respectively " the right-hand circumcision " (*emurata etatene*) and the " left-hand circumcision " (*emurata ekedyenye*). These two units are instituted in turn, in succession of time, 'the right-hand' first, 'the left-hand' second. That succession is usually expressed in terms of seniority, as we see below.

Each age-unit, however, is further subdivided. These subdivisions are formed by all those who have been individually initiated

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[75] Bernardi, p. 320, on structural time, and pp. 321 s. on structural progression and structural permanence.

[76] Merker, *l. c.*, p. 70; Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, p. 261; Leakey, *l. c.*, p. 107; Fox, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, *l. c.*, pp. 299 ss.; *MS* 46, pp. 11 ss.; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, pp. 28 s.

during the same season. FOSBROOKE states that "circumcision", 561
or better individual initiation "is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty among the Masai,[77] and is suspended during the dry season".

It is, therefore the seasonal rhythm that causes a further division of the period for the institution of the age-unit and thereby brings about the minimal divisions of the age-class. The phenomenon is in some way due to the nature of things. Indeed, as Fosbrooke continues, "it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation".[78]

There is no need to stress that "the possession of a group name" indicates that a special group has been instituted.

Within the period for the institution of an age-unit, i. e., between the performance of two successive *Eudungore-Eugibata*, individual initiations take place, according to FOSBROOKE[79] during four rainy seasons, and therefore four minimal age-divisions are formed as follows: (1) *il Changen opirr* or *il Kiperen*; (2) *il Paringotare-lang*; (3) *il Kirimbot*; (4) *il Tareto*. MERKER,[80] and HOLLIS,[81] state that the minimal divisions were three:

According to MERKER, (1) *el jangen obir*; (2) *el baringo duallan*; (3) *el gerimbot*, and this last is said to be the youngest: "der jungste Jahrgang". But MERKER states also that a fourth one is added, called *el oiregua*, which is formed by those who are initiated immediately before the performance of *Eugibata*, i. e. before the proper period for individual initiation, or circumcision, is closed.

According to HOLLIS, the following is the order of names:
(1) *'L-changen-opir* – the big ostrich feathers; (2) *'L-tarete* – the helpers; (3) *'L-paringotwalang* – our fleet runners.

It is not very clear what function these minimal divisions perform in the internal structure of the age-units. It is clear, however, that, being they formed in a succession of time, they define the [554]
status of seniority among the age-unit members and foster that

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[77] Note how economics ("a time of plenty") influence the holding of an initiation festival.

[78] This means that the names of class minimal divisions are always the same for every class.

[79] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

[80] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 70 s.

[81] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 262.

561 [554] feeling of corporate responsibility and membership, which is a typical feature of the age-class system.

It seems certain that the left-hand unit does not group as many members as the right-hand unit. According to FOSBROOKE, the left-hand unit is formed only by the three last-named minimal divisions; FOX states that it may not occur at all.

The following tables illustrate the situation.

561 634 The first table is reproduced from FOSBROOKE (1939).* It refers to the number of age-unit members in four different places of the Kisongo section:

PLACES		Kibaya	Samatwa	Engasumet	Longido	TOTAL
Right-Hand Unit	Kisale	68	133	59	200	460
Left-Hand Unit	Meriako	41	36	11	34	122

The total percentage of members of the left-hand unit as compared with the right-hand unit is therefore 26 %.

The second table is taken from FOX (1930). It refers to the names of the age-units:

SECTIONS	Purko	Loita and Siria	Damat
Right-Hand Unit	Il Meruturot	Il Kishangop	Il Meruturot
Left-Hand Unit	Il Kiboip	none	Il Kiboip

SECTIONS	Kaputiei Loodokilani Matapato	Laitokitok	Kisongo
Right-Hand Unit	Il Altetti	Il Kekuet	?
Left-Hand Unit	none	none	Il Kwiniket

561 Though the value of these tables is far from being absolute, they show that the right-hand unit is far more relevant than the left-hand unit. Indeed we find that candidates are far more anxious to join the right-hand unit than the left-hand unit. This may be explai-

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* FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 23; SCHAPERA, *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*, in *I. A. I.*, Memorandum XXIII, 1949, p. 6. The date is taken from SCHAPERA, p. 6. SCHAPERA refers to the paper of FOSBROOKE as a manuscript. This was published in 1948.

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ned by the status of seniority which is higher for the right-hand unit than for the left-hand unit. 561

To study how the seniority status of the age-units affects the structure of the age-class may be useful to our analysis.

The right-hand unit, being the first of the two-units forming a class, is senior to the left-hand unit. A class, however, is not an absolute institutionalized set of persons, but it is related to other classes below or above itself. Therefore, the two age-units of a single class must also be considered in relation to other classes.

The right-hand unit at the time of its institution has no actual relation to the left-hand unit for the latter does not exist yet, but it has relation to the class next above itself and particularly to the left-hand unit of this.[illegible] Such a relationship makes the right-hand unit junior to the left-hand unit of that class next above. At a later stage, when the new left-hand unit is instituted, the right-hand unit in question becomes a senior unit. The senior right-hand unit and the junior left-hand unit will finally merge into a class. Therefore, if a class is regarded as an absolute body, the right-hand unit is the senior and the left-hand unit the junior. But if the class is viewed as a related body, both the right-hand and the left-hand unit pass through a first stage of juniority, and a successive stage of seniority.

It is important to stress that in the structure of a single age-class the right-hand unit is always the senior unit and the left-hand unit is always the junior unit. 561 554

The status of seniority, as contrasted to that of juniority, is not a mere abstraction. It gives rise to some special privileges which are recorded by FOSBROOKE as follows: (1) "the marking on the shield known as *sirat empaki*;[illegible] (2) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*; (3) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission

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[illegible] One should note that a class is finally instituted, i. e., the two age-units merge into a new single age-set, when the first unit of the next following class has been instituted. See below on the discussion on the overlapping rhythm.

[illegible] According to MERKER, p. 78, there may be six marks in the coats-of-arms of Masai warriors which they paint on their shields: 1. the warrior red mark (*os sirat'onjugi*), to which FOSBROOKE refers; 2. the black mark (*os sirat'orok*); 3. the ornamental band; 4. the coat-of-arm of the clan; 5. the mark of leadership (Korpsunterschaftszeichen); 6. the mark of bravery or distinction. Of all these marks the most important is the warriors' red mark (No. 1. The mark of the clan was rare in MERKER's time. The mark of bravery is reserved for the warriors who distinguish themselves in military action. The shield of the junior initiates (*il barnoti*) is poor in colour and pattern. They are allowed only the black mark; the red one is reserved for the senior initiates. [531]

561 554 from the senior *moran*". To these, according to MERKER, p. 82, should be added the formation of the initiates' segregated village (*manyatta*).[85]

561 578 The behaviour set up by seniority relationship is one of open rivalry between the two adjacent units. Members of the senior unit look down with contempt on those of the junior unit and the latter retaliate as best as they can. The conflicts and clashes which ensue seem to be accepted as a normal social institution and in fact they are looked upon with favour.

FOSBROOKE,[86] notes that initiates make no formal demand for the above mentioned privileges of seniority. "The juniors", he writes, "will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will promptly be beaten up and retract. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy, they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the *Unoto* ceremony". A detailed description of the same process is given by MERKER.[87]

561 The claim for the privileges of seniority and the *Unoto* ceremony mark the final stage of the official period for performing individual initiations and therefore for instituting the age-unit. There is a certain regular interval between these ceremonies, which our authorities try to estimate in terms of years. It seems, however, that the deciding factors are, the adjustment between the senior and junior initiates, the former handing over the privileges of seniority to the latter, and the agreement of the *piron-elders* that the proper time has come for closing the age-unit period.

VI – THE FINAL INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-UNIT[88]

884 561 The final institution of the age-unit is brought about by the performance of the *Unoto* ceremony. This is described by FOSBROOKE,[89] as "the ceremony of promotion from junior to senior

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[85] FOSBROOKE in his chart, p. 34, puts this immediately following the period of the individual initiation (circumcision) of each unit.

[86] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 38.

[87] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 80 ss.

[88] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 71 s.; BAGGE, *l. c.*, p. 167; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 290 ss.; SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, pp. 66 ss.; *MS* 48, p. 3; *NAD*, 1928, p. 21; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, pp. 194 ss.; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 451 s.; WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 150 ss.; *NAD*, 1936, pp. 23 s.; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 29 s.

[89] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 39.

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ". 884 561 ●

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [illegible] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull. [634]

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [illegible] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [illegible] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously. [346] [834] [754]

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [illegible] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singire* " says FOX, [illegible] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual intercourse with initiated women ". [783]

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders 561 634

[illegible] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 481, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Keputiei, Lodokilani and Matapato; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possible, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapato, Keputiei and other divisions where it suited them best. [114] [184] [834]

[illegible] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[illegible] LEAKEY, l. c., p. 186.

[illegible] *NAD*, p. 21.

[illegible] FOX, l. c., p. 482.

561 624 and the candidates have previously agreed on the person to be appointed, and the matter is also discussed with the prophet (*laibon*). As in previous cases, these transactions are kept secret because the office is not popular, and the selected man and his family would avoid the election. Only a popular man and a " pure Masai " distinguished for his physical strength, may be appointed *aunoni*. Generally the *aigwenan* is not elected, but in some cases he may be.[65]

561 624 888 According to MERKER, p. 72, on the day of his official appointment, the selected man is seized and forced to sit on a stool in the centre of the *singira*. He is then clothed wit elders' garments and decorations. FOSBROOKE,[66] states that soon after his appointment he will be given a wife and cattle by his age-mates.

The unpopularity of the office seems to derive from the fact that the elected man must settle down and behave as an old man as to the peculiar nature of the office. This is described by FOSBROOKE,[67] and his description sums up the descriptions and statements of all other authorities.[68] " The duties of the position (of the *aunoni*) are obscure, but as far as is known the *launon* appears to be a sort of scapegoat for the age (unit). If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age (unit). But his adversity will indicate the age (unit)'s prosperity. He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the *moran* standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the *launon* as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age 561 624 (unit). But the *launon* is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office

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[65] *MS.* 48, p. 4.

[66] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 39.

[67] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 39 s.

[68] While on p. 29 FOSBROOKE states: *Unoto* " is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kisongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Magulat near Musa, i. e., on the eastern slopes of Mondul Mountain, actually in the Arusha district. *As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all* ". On p. 36 he writes that " all sections and areas meet together for the unoto ceremony ". Evidently this statement must be qualified by what he says above.

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great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated 561 that such did not necessarily follow as 'we can always tell the *launon* 624 what order to give ".

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[99] describes the contest in which the candidates [782] compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire.

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *aboruengene*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-rings from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *MS.* 48 as " the official charmmaker of the *moran* ". His function, however, seems to be limited to *Unoto*.

Great emphasis is laid by WHITEHOUSE,[100] on what he calls " the fire-drilling ceremony ", which as Fosbrooke also says, " must in fact be the *unoto* ". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of [621] the initiates or *manyatta*.[101]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new awellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[102]

At the *unoto*, the *aunon* first, and then the other initiates, shave 884
their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony. 721
Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior 561

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[99] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 300 ss.

[100] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 153.

[101] This circumstance supports MERKER's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, *l. c.*, pp. 35 ss.

[102] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WHITEHOUSE, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates [782] are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: " Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Become ye ours and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — Wish those who hate us that they may find dry rives on their journeys. — Lenana and Sufeit and Mbatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard thee. May our age be the bravest ". The expression of the first verse " return safely " probably refers to the raid which follows *unoto*. Lenana, Sufeit, Mbatian were prophets.

884 721 561 initiates have returned from a meat festival in the bush a raid is organised. According to HOLLIS this is called, "the (fulfilment) of the vow" or "the (selection) of the chief" (*En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto*).[183]

The main reason for this raid, is the strong desire of the new senior initiates to show their ability and enjoy the satisfaction of the military efficiency they have reached.

At the *unoto* the age-unit assumes a new name.[184]

884 561 *Unoto* if seen with relation to the social status of the initiates is undoubtedly a promotion ceremony. Junior become senior initiates. But if we consider the ceremony in connection with the institution of the age-unit, we find that *Unoto* brings together all those who have been individually initiated during previous years. In other words it merges into one body the three minimal divisions, it gives them a corporate status and institutes the age-unit. The performance of individual initiation is not ended with *Unoto*. It still takes place, but irregularly, and all those initiated at this time form the fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, as reported by MERKER.[185] The ceremony closing the age-unit's legal period for individual initiation is *Endungore*, which, as we have seen, is performed by the *piron*-elders of the next age-unit.

561 Thus the institution of the age-unit is brought about by three different ceremonies, namely, *Engibata* as the opening ceremony, *Unoto* as the instituting ceremony, and *Endungore* as the closing ceremony.

The closing value of *Endungore* is due to the negative aspect of this ceremony as we noted.

The point raised by the interval between all these various ceremonies is most confusing. The reason for this is that the interval is defined by all our authorities in terms which are foreign to Masai age-system. Therefore, we must accept the number of years which they suggest as more or less broad approximations.

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[183] "The (fulfilment) of the vow" is not a special term for the raid which follows *unoto*, but is applied to any raid undertaken after a long peace. Cf. HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 301, n. 3.

[184] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449, writes that "the present (1939) age (unit) of Purko warriors was called *il-tiegi* prior to the *E-Unoto* when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

[185] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 27, speaks of a "hiatus" between the age-units, and we think that such hiatus is that period which runs between the *Unoto* and the *Endungore-Engibata*.

Merker,[106] states that each year for three successive years, candidates are individually initiated and formed into separate minimal age-divisions. A fourth one follows immediately before the closing ceremony is celebrated. He does not state the length of the interval between two successive clossing ceremonies.

Hollis,[107] is very definite on this point. He writes that individual initiation is performed for four years in succession, and all those initiated during these years belong to the right-hand unit. " An interval of about three and half years then intervenes before another festival is held ". All those initiated during the netx four years belong to the left-hand unit. Therefore, according to Hollis, the period for the institution of each age-unit would be about seven and half years.

Leakey,[108] states that *Unoto* is celebrated after " nine years of junior warriorhood ". But Fox,[109] disputes this and says that " nowadays it takes place from three to five years after initiation ".

Whitehouse,[110] writes that " the (initiation) ceremonies which commence about every 7 years extend over a period of about 5 years ".

Fosbrooke,[111] says that the right-hand unit performs *Unoto* 7 years after their initiation period has been opened; and the left-hand unit 5 years after it.

All these statements show clearly that there is no hard and fast definition of the period for the institution of the age-units, and they are evidence that our system of measuring time does not apply to the Masai. The major factor for fixing that period are the presence of candidates, the authority of the elders stating that the right time for performing the various ceremonies has come, and also the regular occurrence of good rainy seasons.

We may, however, say that the period of seven-eight years is a good approximation of what obtains in actual fact. If we take

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[106] Merker, *l. c.*, p. 70.

[107] Hollis, *l. c.*, p. 262. His actual words be misleading. He states that " one feast (circumcision feast) is held in each subdistrict every year for four years in succession ". But it is certain that circumcision is not performed at one single ceremony in each sub-district, but in any village where there are candidates.

[108] Leaky, *l. c.*, p. 194.

[109] Fox, l. c., p. 451.

[110] Whitehouse, *l. c.*, p. 146.

[111] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 25.

561 *Engibata* as the first ceremony for the institution of an age-unit, we may put *Unoto* at an interval of about three or four years; and then *Endungore* some two or three years, or more, after that.[112]

VII – THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE AGE-UNIT

The generic reference made by our authorities either to " the elders " or " the candidates ", and so on, may cause the false impression that those engaged in the initiation ceremonies always act as a whole and corporate group. In point of fact, general meetings are rare occasions, and they are also restricted to territorial sections or groups of sections.

561 624 Only a few representatives of the age-units take the most important decisions in connection with the institution of the units.

We have mentioned the *ingopior* or *ingobir*, sg. *engobiro*. These are the best of the age-units initiates. It is they who first approach the elders and assist their own leaders, who usually are selected from among their number. These are, generally, the most senior. According to the information of FOSBROOKE,[113] they form " an [623] inner council for appointing or degrading the *laigwanan*, and for the conduct of important public business ". However, " there is no definite office of *engobiro* "; they emerge according to their talents, skill and personality. Thus " they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates ", but any one else, even of the last batch, whose qualities excel may be considered an *engobiro*.

The elders here referred to are, as said, the *piron* elders. Their office of sponsors is thus summarized by FOSBROOKE,[114]: " the *il piron*-elders, i. e., the guardians of the youths, have to coach the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the *laibon*, making them sit at their meetings, etc. ".

Of the age-unit leaders (*aigwenani*) FOSBROOKE,[115] distinguishes three kinds, 1. *ol aigwenani loongishu pokin*, lit., the *aigwenani* of

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[112] One of the few facts we possess concerning the Samburu is that " the circumcision rite takes place at intervals of seven years ". See WEBSTER, *l. c.*, p. 8. For the other tribes in Masai District there are no indications in the various reports of the *NAD* confirming the above period. Cf. the references in *NAD*, 1926 and 1927 with 1932 and 1937 which, however, are very vague to be of any real value.

[113] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 34 s.

[114] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 54.

[115] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 34.

all the cattle: the chief leader of the ageunit; 2. *ol aigwenani lol* 561
kuma orok; a duly appointed *aigwenani* to whom a black club is 624
presented; 3. *e murt ol aigwenani*, lit. the 'neck of the *aigwenani*', who is the righthand man of the *aigwenani* proper (No. 2), in whose absence no important decisions are taken.

The election of the *aigwenan loongishu pokin* is described by FOSBROOKE,[116] in connection with the *Unoto*. We have noted, however, that his statement in this passage is contradictory.[117] Unfortunately, there is no other authority on the matter, but one gets the impression that the *aigwenan loongishu pokin* is never elected as such: he emerges from among his fellow *aigwenok* as the best man for the office.

The *aigwenan lol kuma orok* is the ordinary leader elected at the *Engibata* by the elders and the *ingobir*. He is elected from a list of prospective candidates. Second to him is his deputy and assistant, namely, " the neck of the *aigwenani* " (*emurt ol aigwenani*).

The *aigwenani* is the leader of the age-unit in his section.

FOSBROOKE mentions the case of some subalterns being elected when the number of the age-unit members in one area is too big and the *ingopir* feel that another leader is needed.

The function of the *aigwenan* is political, military and to some extent judicial, his authority extends to his age-mates of whom he may be said to be " primus inter pares ".[118]

Every *aigwenani*, even the *aigwenani loongishu pokin*, is primarily responsible for his territorial section or group of sections or area for which he has been appointed. He has la foster good relations among members of his age-unit, between his unit and other [628]
units either in his or in other sections. He is responsible for seeing the elders and the prophet in order to obtain their approval for *Unoto* and any other ceremony or matter connected with his age unit.

In military activity the *aigwenani* was more important in former times than at present. When large actions were organised and different sections threw their lot together, the various *aigwenok* united according to their seniority. This might have been the occasion

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[116] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 36.

[117] In no description of *Unoto* is there mention of an *aigwenani* being elected. The only officers connected with *unoto* are the *aunoni* or *oluno*, and the *oboruengene*.

[118] Cf. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.

561 when the *aigwenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general
624 leader.[119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aigwenani's* office. It
[692] all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes.[120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-oluno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility "for the smart turnout of the *moran* (initiates)".[121] MERKER,[122] and HOLLIS,[123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes
[777] him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: "as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids".

The relationship between the *aigwenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

561 The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete pic-
621 ture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests
701 on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

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[119] The *aigwenani* was not epected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, "probably because the *laigwanan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 39, "the relations between senior *laigwanak* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laigwanak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture".

[120] "It appears", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, "to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laigwanan* has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laigwanan* is present".

[302] [121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c*, p. 299 n. 1.

residential place of the initiates, and the *sirit* which is a manifold 56
grouping of comradeship. 62

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation 701
from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary 621
village. Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[124] But Fox,[125] qualifying Leakey, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Unoto*.

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some unitiated girls (*ṇa sandja* or *ditto*)[126] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[127] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[128]

The groupings named *sirit*, pl. *isirit*, are formed, according to 701
Whitehouse,[129] at a meeting called by the *ingobir* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. Membership of the *sirit* is a matter of free choise. An initiate is free to join any *sirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *sirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, Whitehouse states that "groups of 5 701
(initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*sirit*).[130] 621
Merker, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta*

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[124] Merker, *l. c.*, p. 82; Leakey, *l. c.*, p. 192; Hinde, *l. c.*, p. 91 writes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'mangatta'".

[125] Fox, *l. c.*, p. 451.

[126] Merker, *l. c.*, p. 83.

[127] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscous [831]
and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned. [833]

[128] According to Merker, *l. c.*, p. 110, the initiates who belong to the smith [564]
trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The smith initiates organise their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors.

[129] Whitehouse, *l. c.*, p. 150.

[130] Whitehouse described the *sirit* as based on the clan. The *MS*, 46, p. 8, states that "*amanyata* is inhabitated by the *moran* of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principale, and certainly does not obtain with the Kisongo. Cf. Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 28. [114]

701 may be from 50 to 100; and the anonymous *MS*. 46, p. 8, records
621 that in a *manyatta* there may be from 20 to 30 huts. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *manyatta*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *MS*. 48 that each *sirit* is said to have its own 'portion' of the
[624] *manyatta*. Similarly, Fox says that each *sirit* is commanded by a captain (*il aigwenan loo sirit*), and that the *manyatta* is ruled by a special leader (*il aigwenan 'l ol poror* = the leader of the age-unis), who is at the same time the captain of his own sirit.[131]

The fact that the members of the *sirit* " as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other sirit of their *mannyata* " is emphasised by *MS*. 48, p. 3. There is no indication that the internal organisation of the *manyata* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *manyatta's* of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *manyatta's* and we also know that they unite in time of war, the juniors being trained by the seniors.

Seemingly the *sirit* division has a military function and serves to readily organise warriors for raids. MERKER,[132] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract
[572] on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companion' (*os sirit ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms.[133] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

527 The term *sirit* is further applied to the grouping of initiates
561 who come together for a meat festival (*es sirit ol bul*). This group consists according to MERKER,[134] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on ox-meat.

The meat festivals (*ol bul*, pl. *e buli*) are held once or twice a month;

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[131] Very probably this leader of the *manyatta* is no other than the *aigwenan loi kuma orok*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Aigwenan loi kuma orok* means lit. " the speaker with the black club ", and *'l aigwenani 'il ol poror*, " the speaker of the age-unit ".

[132] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[133] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 93: " Die Aufgabe der Gefährten ist es, dem andern im Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen ". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *MS*.48.

[134] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84.

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they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid.[135] 561

At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organisation and the age units. MERKER,[136] gives a description of Masai military organization. He assumes the existence of a standing army (das stehende Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve. 701

The recruits are " the shaved ones " (*el barnot*).[137] These, together with " the warriors " (*el moran* = initiates)[138] constitute the peace-time force (Friedensstärke), under conscription.[139]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army (" ... kann man als Reserve ansehen und mit zum stehenden Heer rechnen... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial areas and sections (Distrikt).

The above description appears to be very formal.[140] It shows, however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by MERKER's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

It would be of great interest to know how the organisation of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organisation and the *manyatta* 721 701

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[135] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84. See also HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 317. At p. 292, n. 1, he states that " il *puli* are special places erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle ".

[136] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[137] " The shaved ones ", (*ol barnoti*, pl. *el barnot*), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual initiation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the junior initiates.

[138] We may assume that the general term " warriors " as used by MERKER at this place (see also p. 56) refers to the senior initiates.

[139] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73, regards circumcision as a kind of compulsory conscription (... seiner — der allgemeinen — Wehrpflicht ins Heer...).

[140] One may note here that it is MERKER's tendency to describe Masai customs in a way which fits his own scheme. As known, his thesis on the semitic origin of the Masai has so influenced his way as to make his informations in many a case unreliable. [114]

721 701 system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. MERKER,[141] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

701 554 Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he "kills many savages" (HOLLIS (a) he is called "the bull", *ol oingok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father "frequently slaughters bullocks" for his comrades, he is called "the benefactor", *N-gamini*. These distinctions as described by MERKER,[142] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that "the bulls" play a leading role (eine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight ("Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf"); "the benefactors" retain a special position (eine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised office as "the Bulls" and "the Benefactors"; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of HOLLIS,[143] when he states that "the warriors are fond of the titles *'L-oingok* (the bulls) and *'N-gamini* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen*".

561 The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

[621] A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *sirit* are organised. The *sirit ol bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

[701] [572] The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *sirit* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

[624] Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

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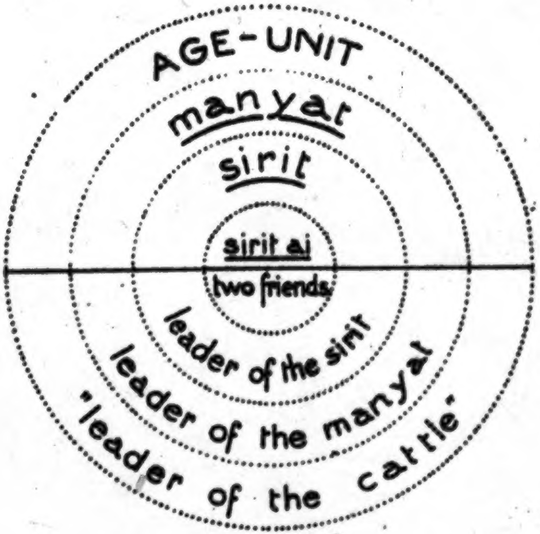
[141] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 93 ss.

[142] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.

[143] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 298.

important to note their temporary and personal function. In this connection one should also noth that, however complex the organisation of the age-unit may appear, its character and nature is entirely democratic. The importance of the *ingobir* as a council to the *aigwenan* has never been stressed sufficiently. Although their office is not very well defined, it is a fact that they may exercise a real control over the leaders of the age-unit whom they have power to degrade.[144] 561 624

The following diagram illustrates the internal structure of the age-unit.



VIII – THE FUNCTION OF THE AGE-UNIT

The most apparent function of the age-unit is military. This is also the aspect stressed by all our authorities, so much so that it is commonly stated that the function of the age system is military.[145] The evidence we have just analysed suggests a somewhat different description. 561 701

We have already noted that the initiates do not become war-

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[144] The relationship of the prophet, *laibon*, to the structure of the age-unit and age-class is illustrated below in connection with the latter. [791]

[145] Cf. for all others FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 32: " The basic function of the age-grade system is doubtless military ".

561 701 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[621] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country.[146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are [262] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the [421] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers until [721] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[148] Since cattle are the primary source [593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders.[149]

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[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He [361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drin- [554] king beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

Thereupon we infer that the function of the age-unit is primarily 561
social. Its scope is to organise the initiates into a corporate body, 182
separate and distinct from other similar bodies, and to lead them, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, towards a full social and economic independence and towards taking a full share in political life.[150]

IX – THE CEREMONIES FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE CLASS

The institution of the age class is brought about by the perfor- 561
mance of some special ceremonies, of which the most important is the *ngeherr* proper. Before this takes place, other ceremonies, such as "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting" (*ol ŋeten 1 ol baa*), "the *ngeherr* of milk" and "the *ngeherr* of meat", must be performed by every initiate. Through these performances the initiate obtains the status of an elder. The *aunoni* is the forerunner of all
his age-mates. As was seen, at *Unoto*, he is given the status of an [884]
elder, and soon after that he settles down as a married man.

Leakey,[151] states that a warrior (i. e. an initiate) who marries cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife.[152] Fox,[153] qualifies Leakey's statement and says that such a case "is hypothetical, and does not occur in practice", because usually the senior initiates marry after the *ngeherr* of milk.

Merker,[154] is our only authority for "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting". The ceremony consists in a meat festival offered by the candidate to the elders of the neighbourhood of his father's village. Other initiates share the meat, but eat apart being still under the restrictions of junior initiates. A mock fight follows in which the initiates and women take part. Finally before the sun
sets, "a married man with his chief wife comes near to their host [539]
and addresses him with the following words":

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[150] Each unit seems to be distinguished from the other by its peculiar [533]
songs. Fox, *l. c.*, p. 454, states that almost all of these songs are in a "rather cryptic language".

[151] Leakey, *l. c.*, p. 200.

[152] Leakey was somehow misled in his information; he also states *l. c.*, [114]
p. 196, that "the actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elder's stage takes place without any ceremonial", which is not correct.

[153] Fox, *l. c.*, p. 455.

[154] Merker, *l. c.*, pp. 102 ss.

561 [539] " I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcized, a warrier), but *ol morou* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder ".

" After this feast ", remarks MERKER, " it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in [591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*; 561 554 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors ".

[562] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet " recognised " as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of " the *ngeherr* of milk " is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. Fox,[185] states that " this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually ",[186] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] [292] [301] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear-rings (*surutya*) on him.[187]

[183] [685] A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess how many times he has " stolen milk ", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about " what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder ". He now drinks the milk, " very little however " at this

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[185] Fox, *l. c.*, p. 453.

[186] He says also that " the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible ".

[187] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife. 561 [585] [553]

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonials have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders choose four or eight " (it must be four or eight) " head of the initiate's cattle, end he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him.[146] The ceremony is now complete.

FOSBROOKE,[147] makes reference to a similar ceremony " by which a *moran* is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle ".[148] He then remarks that " this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the *ngeherr* ceremony ". This indicates that " that *ngeherr* of milk " must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognised only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of " the *ngeherr* of meat ". We are informed by FOX,[149] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as " the second *ol-ngesher* ceremony, called the *Ol-ngesher* of meat ". After such ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman. [362]

The *ngeherr* proper is the closing ceremony which finally institutes the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but acknowledged and accepted throughout Masailand.[150] The ceremony is briefly described by MERKER,[151] as follows: " when all the members [184]

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[146] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not conceived while he was still uninitiated, or by the two women together.

[147] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 20.

[148] The expression " his wife's cattle " sounds inaccurate and indefinite. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle tended by his wife.

[149] FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 452 s.

[150] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 20, states that the ceremony " is traditionally held at *oldoinyo loo 'l moruak* (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanyaa, Moshi District.

[151] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

561 of these associations (the age-units) have long been married, the *ol oiboni* (the prophet) binds them more closely by giving a common name to both age-classes [illegible] each of which, as we have seen, had its own name. This takes place at *ol osher* feast. All the members of the associations come together at the *ol oiboni*'s place and build a great kraal near his village. Everybody brings honey for making beer or an ox for meat. This last is then killed by suffocation at the *en gabata* feast. The feast consists in consuming all these things, and its climax is the proclamation by the *ol oiboni* that from now on all the assembled people shall belong to a single *ol adji* (age-class), and have a common class name ".

561 624 FOSBROOKE, [illegible] states that " a single official, *ol-loo-rarutya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation (age-class), thus symbolising the union of the two ages (age-units) which have up to now been independent, each with its own laonon or ceremonial leader ".

561 [571] It is after this feast that " those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal *boma* (village); for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. It is also this feast that " pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, the new elders may drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*ondere sero*) in place of the long polished warriors' spears, in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned ". [illegible] In other words through the *ngesher* ceremony initiates reach a complete [554] social and economic independence and become full men or elders; they may beget children, own their own stock and build their own village or 'gate'.

There is no doubt that the value of the *Ngesher* proper for the institution of the age-class is equal to that of *Eunoto*. This is stated by Fosbrooke. [illegible] He writes: " Just as the Kakonyuko ceremony of *Eunoto* starts off the age (class-period) for the whole tribe (read = the whole Masailand), it appears that the Kisongo *Ngesher* closes it throughout Masailand ". This value of *Ngesher*

[illegible] Read = age-units (my terminology).

[illegible] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. [illegible]

[illegible] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. [illegible]

[illegible] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. [illegible] is also confirmed by the fact that, as Fox [144] states, " the generation names (i. e. class names) emanate from the Kisongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors (initiates) of the two combined ages (age-units) have become elders. Therefore the age-names (i. e. age-unit names) tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation names (i. e. class names) ". (Words in brackets mine). 561

It should be noted here that the acknowledgement of the Kakonyuke *Embolosat* and of the Kisongo *Ngesher* by all the Masai is the more remarkable if one considers the tendency of each territorial section to hold ceremonies of its own for the institution of the age-units.

X – THE GENERAL PATTERN OF THE INITIATION CEREMONIES

At this point, when all initiation ceremonies have been studied, it may be of interest to note that the ritual patterns of all these ceremonies, whether their value is territorially sectional or extends throughout Masailand, are essentially similar. Initiation ceremonies are made up of four main elements: *a*) testing and instruction of candidates; *b*) election of a leader; *c*) sacrifice of a bull; *d*) ceremonial fire. 561 [884]

a) The testing and instruction of the candidates is a broad expression which covers various rites performed at different times. It refers to all the ordeals (except circumcision) and confessions which candidates are expected to pass through, and to the instructions, blessings and prayers which the elders impart to, or offer for, their pious candidates.

b) Contrary to expectation the office of leader holds no attraction for the candidates. Very probably the reason is that such leaders, or officiers, as the *olpiroroni* and *aunoni* are expected to act in a fashion which is not the fashion of their own age-mates at that moment. Indeed they are forced to act as elders when their companions are being recognized as junior or senior initiates. There is no detailed account of the election of the class-leader (*ol-[illegible]*). If that opposition to office is viewed in the background of the leader's limited and temporary authority in the age system, it may be taken as a further indication that these leaders have nothing in common with political chiefs as found in centralized societies. 561 434

[144] Fox, l. c., p. 448.

56| FL12) *c*) That the killing of the bull is a religious sacrifice is shown by the fact that the bull is killed in a ceremonial way, i. e. by suffocation.[illegible] Prayers are also offered to God, and ceremonial hide-rings from the bull's skin are distributed to all those present.

d) At first sight the ceremonial fire gives the impression of being inconsistent with this ritual pattern. It serves to destroy the bones of the sacrificed bull, and it is also produced at the foundation of the village of the initiates (manyatta). The importance of this ritual element, however, becomes evident if we compare it with the so called piron relationship. *Il-piron* is the firestick used for producing new fire. The breaking of a similar stick by the *piron*-elders is the main rite of *Endungore*, and the elders and candidates when they visit the prophet say: "This is our fire-stick, we are one".[illegible]

55| 56| Against the background of the above patterns, individual initiation, in the way it is now performed, i. e. by circumcision, seems to stand apart and follow a pattern of its own. This discord is somewhat striking, and one may be permitted to hazard the opinion that circumcision as such is foreign to the age-system of the Masai. Indeed, the structure of the age-system as such has no direct connection with individual initiation.

56| *The Overlapping Rhythm.* Discussing the interval between the various ceremonies which institute the age-units we accepted the period of seven years as a good though vague, approximation. On that basis we may now assume that fifteen years is a parallel approximation of the interval between the institution of two age-classes.

The inaccuracy of any numerical computation with regard to Masai age-system is emphasized by what we call the overlapping rhythm.

Up to this point the age-class has been considered absolutely, i. e. without relation to preceding or succeeding classes. In facts the actual institution of a class is related to other classes, and especially to that class immediately preceding and the one which follows immediately. Similarly one age-unit is related to the unit next above it and the one next below it. Let us consider the phenomenon by focussing attention on the left-hand unit. This is the second of the two units of a class, and the junior of the two. As

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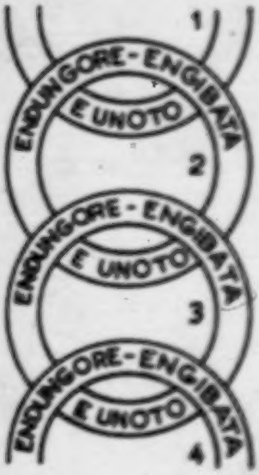
[931] [illegible] The ordinary way of killing a beast is by stabbing it in the nape of the neck. Cf. Hollis, l. c., pp. 287, 300.

[illegible] [illegible], l. c., pp. 148 ss.

soon as the lefthand unit is about to perform *Unoto*, and thus obtain the privileges of seniority, the candidates of the next class below hold the *Emboloosi* ceremony and a new period of initiation is started. The rhythm of the age system moves on, and the right-hand unit of the new class enters the process of institution. When the left-hand unit in question becomes senior, the preceding right-hand unit has been senior for a long time, namely since the first initiation ceremonies (*Endungore-Engibata*) of the left-hand unit. Members of both, however, officially become elders at the same time by the performance of *Ngeherr*. At this same time the right-hand unit of the next class below is abouth to hold *Unoto* and become the senior unit. And so on.[178]

The phenomenon is made clear by the following series of diagrams:

DIAGRAM 1. The overlapping of the age-units.



1 – Left-hand age unit of the preceding class.

2 – Right-hand age-unit
3 – Left-hand age-unit
} of a single class

4 – Right-hand age-unit of the succeeding class.

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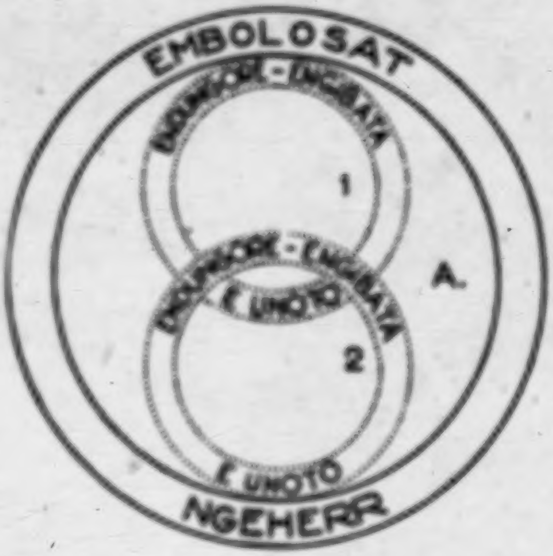
[178] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 196 sees the reason for this phenomenon of overlapping in the military aspect of the age-system. He writes: "no two warrior groups (units) may move out into the Elders stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean leaving a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe".

56 | DIAGRAM II. A single age-class in itself.

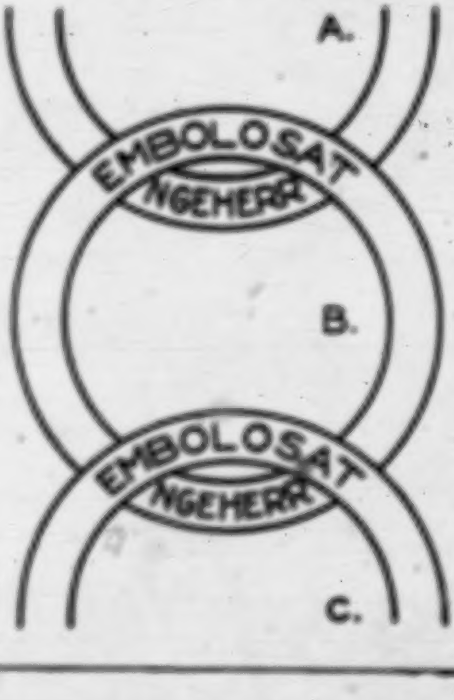

EMBOLOSAT
1
A.
E UNOTO
2
E UNOTO
NGEHERR

A – age-class

1 – Right-hand unit

2 – Left-hand unit.

DIAGRAM III. The overlapping of the age-classes.

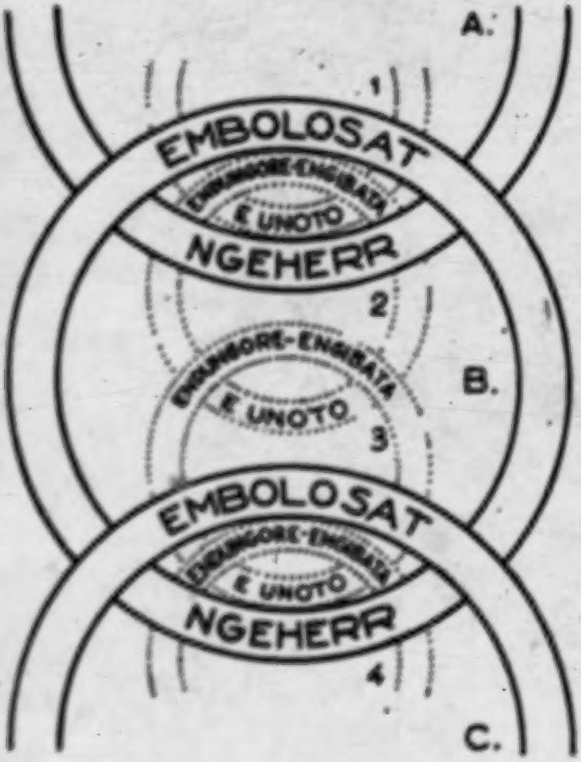

A.
EMBOLOSAT
NGEHERR
B.
EMBOLOSAT
NGEHERR
C.

A – the preceding class.

B – a full single class

C – the succeeding class.

DIAGRAM IV. The overlapping rhythm in its entire complexity. 561


A.
1
EMBOLOSAT
ENGANGORE-ENGIBATA
E UNOTO
NGEHERR
2
ENGANGORE-ENGIBATA
E UNOTO
B.
3
EMBOLOSAT
ENGANGORE-ENGIBATA
E UNOTO
NGEHERR
4
C.

A – the preceding class
1 – left-hand unit of class A

B – a full single class
2 – right-hand unit of class B
3 – left-hand unit of class B

C – the succeeding class
4 – right-hand unit of class C

The Interrelations of Age-Classes. The rhythm of Masai age-system seems to allow for five contemporary classes. All these classes differ in status and power according to their seniority as well as the efficiency of their individual members. We may thus distinguish between the *junior elders* who are members of the last instituted class; the *senior elders* who are members of the next one above; the *old men* who might further be distinguished for they are the few surviving members of the other three classes above.

The *junior elders* "are mostly concerned with family matters establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives,".[illegible] In other words, their 561 885

[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 31.

561 immediate interest are in the main of a private nature, and their
885 share in tribal or public affairs is a minor one. They try to enhance
[554] their social status by increasing cattle, marrying other wives, and having their sons initiated.

The *senior elders* have a full share in political life. It would even
561 be correct to say that this is their privilege, and theirs is the class
642 in power. Their sons are ready for initiation. Therefore it is upon their class that falls the duty of undertaking the institution of a new class by controlling and performing all the proper ceremonies. It is from such duty or privilege that the so called *piron* relationship is derived. It is a mutual relationship by which, on the one hand, the elders pledge themselves to assist the candidates, and be their sponsors, and, on the other hand, the latter revere the elders' authority and follow their advices. Thus the *piron*-elders control the main branch of social and political activity, namely the institution of a new class. And, because the initiates, both junior and senior, constitute the strongest body of the military force even this other branch of political structure, namely military organisation and activity, falls to some extent under the elders' authority. The peculiar nature of Masai society makes it out of place the search for individual political leaders, but if we want to express ourselves with usual terms, we could say that the *piron*-elders are the true political leaders of the Masai.

561 The three classes of *the old men* are the classes which have retired.
887 In practice they take no further active part in political life, but are concerned with religious ceremonies in which their presence is greatly considered. Their number is naturally decreasing and the few survivors of the last classes are generally dotards. When possible, these survivors, particularly the former leaders, are consulted when tradition is to be ascertained.

561 Analysis shows that the prerogatives of the age-classes are common and proper to all their members, and it shows also that the number of class-members, after the class is constituted, is so closed as no member is any longer accepted into the class.

Junior elders succeed seniors in political leadership when the institution of a new class is officially opened. The phenomenon takes place through the rhythm of the age-system ceremonies.

In this connection FOSBROOKE,[178] speaks of a handing over ceremony performed by the senior and junior elders. " The malter", he writes, "is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders". Unfortunately, no details of such "vestiges" are indicated, nor is a similar ceremony mentioned by any other authority. 561

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[178] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 22.

In 1939 **Fosbrooke** compiled a census of the class- and unit-members among some of the Kisongo. Above we reproduced the membership figures of the age units; it is now of interest to give the figures of the same census for the age-classes. 561 162

	PLACES	Kibaya	Samatwa	Engasu-met	Longido	Total	
Classes	NYANGUSI	1	–	–	–	1	Old men
	LAIMER	2	1	–	1	4	
	DALALA	14	12	8	23	57	
	DWATI	58	52	23	26	159	Senior Elders
	DARETO	49	69	38	62	218	Junior Elders
	TOTALS	124	134	69	112	439	

The above totals should be compared with the total of the age-units members, which are as follows:

TOTALS	123	159	66	234	582	Initiates

A special officer is elected at the *ngeherr*. He is called *ol-loo-suruiya.*[178] His functions are not very clear. He is described by **Fosbrooke**,[179] as having "no duty", though he is held in great 561 624

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[178] The name refers evidently to the elder's decorations. The *suruiya* are the ear-rings proper of the elders.

[179] **Fosbrooke**, *l. c.*, p. 40.

561 624 respect by all his age-mates. It appears that there is only one such officer for the whole class as there is a single performance of the *ngeherr* proper.

XI - THE PROPHET AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

561 791 " There can be little doubt ", writes **Fosbrooke**,[176] " that at this time (i. e., in pre-European times) a *laibon*'s chief functions were: i. dispensing charms for raids; ii. supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies; iii. propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall ".

He also remarks,[177] that " although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the *laibon*, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain ".

It seems to me, on the basis of the foregoing analysis, that the function of the prophet in connection with the institution of the age-units and the age-class is marginal and secondary to the authority of the *piron*-elders, and that it possesses a wholly ritual value. The authority of the prophet does not find a proper place in the structure of Masai age-system. This system is the principle which restricts his activity.

Whenever one of the inititation ceremonies is held, a delegation of the *piron*, both elders and candidates, approaches one of the prophets for his blessing. According to **Fosbrooke**'s information it does not matter whether the sought prophet is a prophet of the territorial section where the ceremony is performed or of another section or even an " unofficial " *laibon*.[178] The same con-

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[176] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 15.

[177] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 17.

[178] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 17. The passage continues as follows: " For instance the *Ngeherr* or passing out ceremony of the *Darsto* age-set (class) of the Kissongo section was nominally held under Parrit, and the *Usoto* or promotion ceremony of the *Kisale* age (age-unit) under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling *laibon* at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adopter of the Engidong clan, one Lolkokwa ole Kashungu (now deceased) was called to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul *laibon* received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Banerera and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lolkokwa at Bisil, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangoyan, *laibon* of the Kisale age for the Matapatu and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimuruai ".

tact with a prophet is established before a raid. All these delegations 561
are expected to pay the prophet a number of cattle contributed by 791
the age-set's members they represent. The responsibility for collections of this kind is one of the main duties of the leaders.[179]

The authority and the influence of the prophet do not extend beyond these contacts. The elders alone are responsible for the organisation of the initiation ceremonies and hence for the institution of the age-class.

However, in his description of the *laibon* **FOSBROOKE** assumes too much. He writes,[180] " On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so [171]
closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home.[181] Thus it appears that the *laibon* is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age-grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists today, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the *laibon* and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution (namely, the *laibon* hood, B. B.) incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened ".

The assumption that the Masai age-system is related to the [171]
Galla age-system is frequently taken for granted but up to the present, nothing definite has been ascertained on this point.[182] On the basis of our present analysis we agree with **FOSBROOKE**'s conclusion on the secondary character oft he prophet's function in the institution of the age-class.[183] But we find it difficult to agree with [114]
him when he states that " the age grades " have been the channel through which the *laibon* institution came to be established as an

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[179] It frequently happens, remarks **FOSBROOKE**, *l. c.*, p. 18, that the contributor does not know exactly the reason for his contribution. Of course he relies entirely on his leader.

[180] **FOSBROOKE**, *l. c.*, p. 12.

[181] **FOSBROOKE**, *l. c.*, p. 3, " lying between Lake Rudolf and Kenya Highlands ".

[182] On this point, see **BERNARDI**, *l. c.*, p. 315, fn. 2.

[183] **FOSBROOKE**, *l. c.*, p. 16: " But he (the prophet) is not responsible for the organisation of such matters (i. e. *Embolosat*, *Unoto* and *Ngeherr* ceremonies) nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or hold ones stand down ".

561 79 [114] institution of Masai culture. We are much inclined to think on different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office. His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Masai political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the *laibon* did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FOSBROOKE on "the [114] incompatibility" of the *laibon* institution "with the original culture" of the Masai is one that could only be properly reached after an historical and critical study of Masai ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions.

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS[184]

561 574 A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class. Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Masai hospitality customs. They show also what force of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would be cursed by his own class. This [626] cursing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack.[185]

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[184] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 47; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 480; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 183.

[185] Masai hospitality customs are best described by HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 287 s. Translating, as he does, direct Masai accounts, he writes: "When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Aimer* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kishumu* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Aimere* age are, and when he

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. 561
This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his [582]
own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age- [684]
mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's agegrade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-
grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest [837]
of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife.
MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live [587]
with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual
communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members [837]
of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exo- [582]
gamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* 561
names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, 552
Engibata, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[184] FOSBROOKE has attempted

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has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of [574]
the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot
refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other [759]
members of his age will curse him, and he will die ". [626]

[184] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 289; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 462; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

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a concordance of class-names with dates and some known historical facts.[187] At this stage there is no need to indicate how the very precise 14 years interval is misleading: dates must be taken as a vague attempt to a correct translation of Masai age-system intoour system.[188]

	MERKER (1904)	FOX (1930)	FOSBROOKE (1939)		
1	–	Il Meshope	–		
2	–	Il Salaash	–		
3	El Diegi	Il Tiegi	Diogi	1766	– *Members of this class can be remembered by living elders.*
4	El Kisaroni	–	Kisaruni	1791	
5	El Merischari	I Merishare	Merishari	1806	
6	El Kidotu	Il Kidotu	Kidotu	1821	
7	El Duati	Il Twati	Dwati	1836	
8	El Niangui	Il Nyangusi	Nyangusi	1851	– *One or two members still alive.*
9	'l Aimerr	Il Aimer	Laimer	1866	
10	–	Il Talala	Dalala	1881	– *Famine, rinderpest and smallpox.*
11	–	Il Twati	Dwati	1896	– *First conctat with Eur. Adm.*
12	–	Il Tareto	Dareto	1911	– *The great war.*
			Kisale	1926	– *Right-hand unit.*
			Merisho	1935	– *Left-hand unit.*

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[187] Figures of years are described by FOOSBROOKE as the " approximat date of circumcisions. The expression is very vague and shows how inaccurat the usual terminology is. Following our analysis it seems clear that " circumcision " means here " age-class ", and, therefore, dates may be referred t either the performance of *Embolosat* or the performance of the *Ngeherr* proper

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[188] A fourth list recorded by HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 265, is not reproduced her because it is evident from a comparison with the other lists that it contain " an indiscriminate mixture of age (unit) and class-names " (FOX).

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "'L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribes as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

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Social system of the pastoral section.
"'L-Ayok."
"Muran."

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

181 464 ● 561 **Employment of the "Muran."**

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Muran" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any uncongenial labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existance as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have confessed to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existance is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Muran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

181 232 233 197 **Masai conservatism respecting cattle.**

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent. or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the ardous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

623 561 **Councils of Elders.**

[674] **Crime in the Masai Reserve.**

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Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Muran" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Muran" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a recourse to armed force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

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* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—

(1) Nandi Expedition, 1895. 60 Muran.
(2) Nandi Expedition, 1900. 400 Muran.
(3) Maruka Patrol, 1902. 200 Muran.
(4) Tetu Operations, 1902-03. 300 Muran.
(5) Iriani Patrol. 400 Muran.
(6) Kabwaren Patrol, 1904. 100 Masai and Nandi.
(7) Sotik Expedition, 1905. 400 Muran.
(8) Kisii Patrol, 1908.
(9) Nandi Expedition, 1905-06. 600 Muran.
(10) Present Turkana operations.

Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Turkana operations, where it is doubtful if the pastoral Masai have been used, and in the Kabwaren patrol, where it was found that the Masai spearmen were of little use against the Nandi in forest country.

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where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "'L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

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Divisions.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 260 and 261, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature.

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Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each

Masai Council.

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division to necessitate or render advisable a departure on their behalf from the general policy to be pursued in dealing with the tribe as a whole.

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The Tribal Divisions. The Tribal Divisions of the Masai as they are recognised for the purposes of the administration of the tribe are as follows :—

Purko. The Purko is the largest and most important division. They number about 16,500 and of these some 10,000 came from Laikipia. There are rather more than 2,000 Muran, who inhabit five large villages. The names of the "Sirits" are Il Kisaruni, Il Merisho, L'Aimer, Il Mejuali and Il Pelyani. In 1916, the Kisaruni Purko Muran decided to divide, and while one part retained the name of Kisaruni, the other adopted the name of "Il Kidemmi." In 1917, the Purko were estimated to possess 375,000 head of cattle, 1,000,000 sheep and 5,200 donkeys. They live in the country known as Ngatet and in Ol-Orokuti.

Loita. The population of the Loita Division is ab[illegible]5,000 of whom some 700 are Muran. This division formerly lived near N[illegible] when Sendeu, their medicine-man quarrelled with Lenana, they mo[illegible]o German territory returning subsequently to the Loita Hills whe[illegible] are. The Muran "Sirits" are known as Il Paragwo and Il Kisar[illegible]oita are estimated to possess 80,000 head of cattle, 225,000 sheep and [illegible]ys.

L'Otayok. A small division known as the L'Otayak inhabits the same region as the Loita. They number about 800 of whom 60 are Muran. They are said to possess 1,000 head of cattle, 18,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small number of L'Otayok also live in German East Africa.

Salei. The members of the Salei Division generally inhabit the Loita Country and they recognize Sendeu as their Laibon. Their population is assessed at 600 of whom about 50 are Muran. They possess 6,000 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small portion of the Salei have amalgamated with the L'Odo Kilani.

Siria. The Siria Division also recognises Sendeu as Laibon. They inhabit the Ol-Orokuti country, number about 1,200 of whom 80 are Muran, and possess 12,000 head of cattle, 25,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Il Damat. The Il Damat form one location with Purko by whom they were vanquished some years ago. They are to be found on the Loita Plains and number 900 in all of whom 65 are Muran. They are estimated to possess 8,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 100 donkeys (see p. 27).

Kakonyukye The members of the Kakonyukye Division number 3,500, of whom 350 are Muran, and possess 50,000 head of cattle, 200,000 sheep and 2,000 donkeys. They inhabit the country known as Il Melli and Mosiro, and the neighbourhood of Mount Suswa. The "Sirits" of the Muran are named Il Mejuali, Il Paragwo and Il Kidemmi.

L'Odo Kilani. The L'Odo Kilani Division inhabits the country near the German border south of Lake Magadi. The population numbers 1,200 of whom 80 are Muran, and they possess 10,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 150 donkeys. The Muran are divided into two "Sirits" both known as Il Kidemmi.

Ngaruman. The Ngaruman form a survival of the old agricultural Masai, but they have discontinued agriculture and now live in the same manner as the pastoralists. They inhabit the country near the mouth of the Uaso Nyiro River. They number 400, of whom 40 are Muran, and possess 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Matapato. The Matapato number 2,400, possess 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Their Muran number 160 and are divided into three "Sirits" named Il Kileso, Il Tetiain and Seure, and they inhabit the country between Kajiado and the German border.

634 162 561 56 231 The Sighirari of the *Engidongi* inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidongi.

[563] [144] The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirits" named Il Tareto and Seure. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Mejuali, Il Kidemmi and Il Sogon. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalelwa, Naremoru, Ol el Tureah and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirits," named Il Kituli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il-Kunono.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose *raison d'être* has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the counsels of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organisation, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability; they have always realised that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Recapitulation.

The following quotations are made from the Protectorate Annual Report for the year 1903-1904:— The year 1903-1904. CAR* 175

"About the beginning of September last, it was reported that the Masai contemplated a wholesale raid into the Kisii country; the adoption of prompt measures, however, both in this province" (Ukamba) "and at Naivasha, prevented any carrying out of their intentions. Since that time they have been quiet, with the exception of a party belonging to the Matapato section, which secretly organized a small expedition some two or three months ago; the kraal concerned was fined, and the 'leganan,' or head warrior, is now a fugitive, the raid having been unsuccessful. With the exception of these two incidents, the conduct of this tribe has been satisfactory. . . . . ."

"Nothing of great political importance has occurred in this district" (Naivasha District, [illegible]) "during the year. In the autumn of 1903, the Masai held a large circumcision festival on the plains of Kinangop (or Kinangapi). This was attended by several thousand tribesmen, and it was thought by some that the event would be commemorated by the dispatch of a large party to raid Lumbwa, Kisii, and, possibly, the German territory at the back of Shirati. Though the idea was discredited by those on the spot, it was considered advisable to make a military demonstration in the neighbourhood of Naivasha to discourage any breaches of the peace. At any rate, the ceremonies on Kinangop passed over without incident. Curiously enough, about this time, a large war party of Masai did make a raid on the country east of Shirati, but, owing to warnings sent by us in anticipation of such an event, little damage was done, and the raiders were dispersed by the German troops. Our German neighbours appeared to be under the impression that Sendeo organized this raid, but what 'elmoran,' or warriors, formed the war party seems to remain in obscurity. The elders of what may be termed the Naivasha Masai are undoubtedly loyal, and will do their best to discourage raids by the elmoran. [561] ●

"The executive officials in this district who may be considered to be in the confidence of the tribe, report that the elders discuss the question of raiding quite frankly, and often enquire what is to become of the poorer elmoran, who have no live-stock, and thus cannot marry and settle down as 'Elmoruo,' or Elders, and now raiding is forbidden, do not see how they are to acquire wealth. Numbers of these earn a bare livelihood by herding the property of their richer friends, others serve in the King's African Rifles and police force, and those in regular Government employ, steadily save enough to start them in married life. It is probable that a partial solution of this problem lies in the formation of a labour bureau, the object of which will be to find suitable employment for the poorer elmoran and 'laiok,' or youths, who have not attained the status of warrior." CAR* 175 178 46A

As distinct from the Masai Moves, the history of which forms the subject of Chapter III., the early history of the Masai contains little further of interest. The administrative steps which have been taken on their account from time to time have been treated separately in the following chapters, and Masai raids may be said to have ceased after the year 1904, the last year in which they carried out a successful expedition against another tribe in the Protectorate. Their more recent raids against German territory, are referred to in Chapter VIII. Conclusion. CAR* 175

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Secretary of State's views.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs expressed himself as generally in agreement with these views, anticipating that contact with other races and with Europeans would gradually result in a change in the customs and organisation of the Masai. It was agreed that the settlement of Europeans among the Masai would incline them to abandon their wandering habits and become, at least partially cultivators of the soil or servants of those who were developing the resources of the country. Sir Charles Eliot realised that such a condition of things implied some risk of conflict between the Masai and Europeans and he was prepared, but only as an ultimate resort, to remove the tribesmen from their present homes to a special reserve elsewhere, should experience prove that they could not get on with the settlers.

Mr. Hobley's reports on Laikipia.

In December, 1903, and January, 1904, Mr. Hobley made extensive tours through the country, in the neighbourhood of the Rift Valley, accompanied by Masikondi and a few other elders of the tribe, with a view to discovering some division of the eligible grazing land, without detriment to the Masai, while admitting of as many grants to settlers as was feasible. By the middle of February, 1904, he had amassed sufficient information to enable him to assure Sir Charles Eliot that the formulation of an agreement with the Masai on the question of the division of grazing land in the Rift Valley was possible, subject to compensation being paid for grazing rights over certain areas which would have to be given up.

Mr. Jackson's memorandum.

While on leave in England, Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson wrote a memorandum on the Masai question, which it may be desirable to quote in extenso. The memorandum was dated the 22nd of February, 1904.

"The Masai will never give us serious trouble, so long as we treat them fairly, and do not deprive them of their best and favourite grazing grounds—*i.e.*, those in the vicinity of Lake Naivasha.

"Apart from the just cause for complaint that such action would give them, it would be a great mistake to push them on one side and away from the close vicinity and control of the Government stations. The further they are away from us, the more trouble they will give us in the matter of raiding.

"Neither the Germans nor ourselves are in touch with the Masai occupying the country on either side of the boundary between Kilimanjaro and the Lake. It is, however, by no means certain that there are any Masai resident in British territory close to the boundary, but no doubt those resident in German territory take refuge across the border after a raid, and when pursued by German troops. The 'loyal' Chief Sendeyo of the Loita Masai, left German territory about a year ago, and came to Nairobi with 2,000 followers, including 200 or 300 moran (warriors). The remainder of the clan declined to follow him. Sendeyo, who now lives with his brother Lenana at Nairobi, has no power over, or dealings with, the rest of the clan resident in German territory. A raid, which is said to have taken place last May is, no doubt, the one that Bishop Tucker of Uganda brought to our notice, owing to the raiders having attacked one of the Church Missionary Society's stations on the south-east shore of the Lake. Several of the raiders were dressed in khaki uniforms, spoke Swahili, and were armed with breech-loading rifles. These facts, for presumably they are facts, point to these men being deserters from the German service, and as Sendeyo left German territory owing to the ill-treatment he met with, it is not unlikely that the remainder of the clan, subjected to similar treatment, have a grudge against Europeans generally, and attacked the Mission station and settlement with the aid of the deserters. Up to the present, the Masai have never been known to attack Europeans in British territory, and they are not likely to, so long as they are treated fairly.

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"The recent unrest was due, as Sir C. Eliot has pointed out, to an unusually large circumcision feast that takes place once in eight years. The ordinary ceremony is an annual one. The increase last year was due to a large number of young men, including many private servants of Europeans, and soldiers and policemen in Government service, postponing the service for one or two years, and they were all, not unnaturally, keen to distinguish themselves in a raid on an unusually large scale. There was even a considerable amount of open boasting amongst these recently-made 'moran,' that the Government would not, and could not, stop them. This led to greatly exaggerated stories being circulated in the Nairobi bazaar, and these stories were made the most of by those settlers who can see no good in the Masai, and are keenly desirous of appropriating the best of their grazing grounds at Naivasha.

"As a matter of fact, the local authorities were well posted by Lenana at Nairobi, and by Masikonde, the principal Chief at Naivasha, as to what was going on, and there was never at any time justification for the alarmist reports that were circulated.

"The steps that were taken—viz., the temporary display of force at Naivasha by 100 men, under Colonel Harrison, who knows the Masai well—had the desired effect, and prevented the raid taking place. These steps were taken at the suggestion of Lenana.

"It is true that the Chiefs and Elders have little authority over the 'moran,' but they assist us in every way they can, and have given us information of contemplated raids.

"Up to the time I left Mombasa, the large grazing areas applied for in the Naivasha district, were 500 square miles (320,000 acres) by the East Africa Syndicate, 100,000 acres by Lord Delamere, and 32,000 acres each by Messrs. Chamberlain and Flemmer, and I pointed out to Sir C. Eliot that these areas not only embraced the best and most favoured grazing grounds of the Masai between Lakes Nakuru and Naivasha, but also embraced both banks of the only four rivers in the vicinity.

"Within this area, there are at the present moment not less than a quarter of a million sheep. Lord Delamere's application was therefore refused, and he selected another area on the Molo River, to which there were no local objections, as the Masai do not extend so far to the west in the valley. I was also given to understand by Mr. Hollis, the Secretary, that Sir Charles Eliot would not consider any further applications for large areas—including Mr. Chamberlain's application—between Nakuru and Naivasha. To Mr. Flemmer's application for land on the Mbaruk River, north of Elmenteita, there were no local objections. This left only the Syndicate's 500 square miles to be considered, and for this purpose Mr. Bagge, the Sub-Commissioner, called a meeting of the Elders, who, after pointing out that the area embraced the pick of their ground, reluctantly agreed to raise no further objections, provided the remainder might be left to them.

"Shortly after I left, Sir C. Eliot himself visited Naivasha, and informed the Elders that between Naivasha and Nakuru no further grants would be considered. I learn, however, from a letter to Mr. Bagge from Mr. Hobley, who is doing my work as well as Mr. Bagge's, that applications for large areas have been received, amounting to 75 per cent. of the grazing grounds in the valley and on the Kinangop Plateau. These applications now embrace the whole of the Njoro River, the Makalia, the Mbaruk, and Kedong, and the greater part of the Gil-Gil and Morendat, and I cannot see how it is possible to allow these grants without very seriously interfering with native interests. To any applications for land north of Nakuru and Elmenteita there are no local objections, as the Masai for many years have not occupied it, but I would strongly urge that no grants—except the Syndicate's—should be made south of a line between the north ends of Nakuru and Elmenteita.

"Our only hope of keeping the Masai under proper control for some years to come, is to keep them near us."

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water in that country was sufficient for the requirements of the Northern Masai. Lenana's main object in recommending the move was to re-amalgamate the various sections of the tribe, in order to enable him once more to exercise direct control over all his followers. Ever since the removal of the Northern Masai to Laikipia, he had found his authority to be waning. The Rift Valley Masai had been separated more from the [illegible] Masai than Lenana had expected when the Agreement was signed. This separation was, to a large extent due to the fact that the Government had failed to carry out all the conditions of the treaty. The road half a mile broad, which was to have been left unalienated between the reserves had been reduced to such an extent that it was practically useless for cattle, and the land on either side had been leased to Europeans. In August, 1909, the movement of cattle between the reserves was altogether prohibited, owing to quarantine regulations, and the Masai of Laikipia were thus, to all intents and purposes, cut off from their Laibon at Ngong. Legalishu, who was present at the meeting, could not be induced to give his opinion on the subject. The Governor stated that the question of the move would not be contemplated by the Government unless it was in accord with the expressed wishes of the Masai, and he refused to comply with Lenana's suggestion that the matter might be settled without delay, for he considered that further investigation was necessary to ascertain whether the suggested area was suitable for the accommodation of the Northern Masai.

[illegible]

As Lenana was so much in favour of the move and as the reports sent in by Mr. McClure and Captain Hamilton, though not enthusiastic, had been sufficiently encouraging, the Governor gave orders for two senior officers to inspect the country, and Messrs. Sugg and Hollis were entrusted with this work. The driest month of the year, March, was chosen in order that the country might be seen at its worst, and an extended tour was made through a part of [illegible], [illegible] and the Loita Plains to the Mara River, thence along the Anglo-German boundary, the Loita Hills and the Southern Uaso Nyiro to Nairobi. The gist of the reports submitted by these officers was that the land and grazing were, on the whole, good, but that there was an insufficiency of water and, much as they would like to see all the Masai concentrated in one reserve, they could not recommend the move until steps had been taken to irrigate the land, and until the natives who were living in the area had been given homes elsewhere. Mr. Sugg, however, pointed out that the inclusion in the reserve of any of the country known as the Mau Plateau had not been considered, and that it was probable that by engineering works the water supply might be considerably increased. He suggested that an engineer should be sent into the area to report on the prospects of irrigation near the [illegible] River.

[illegible]

On Sir J. Hayes Sadler's departure from East Africa, Mr. Jackson instructed Mr. Watts, the Commissioner of Public Works, to visit the Loita Plains, and to report on the possibility of irrigation. At the same time, the settlers in the area which might be allotted to the Masai, were to be approached with a view to ascertaining if they would be prepared to move, should the scheme be carried through, on consideration of receiving compensation on Laikipia or in the vicinity, to the extent of their present holdings, plus half as much again. Mr. Watts drew up an elaborate report and showed that by the expenditure of £[illegible] the whole of the area could be watered. He also estimated that after deducting [illegible] million acres for grazing of game, forest and waste areas, there remained [illegible] million acres of good grazing land available for the support of [illegible] cattle and [illegible] sheep, allowing seven acres per cow and one acre per sheep. A sum of £[illegible] was inserted in the Estimates for 1910-1911 as a commencement for the irrigation scheme, but was disallowed by the Secretary of State.

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[illegible]

In August, 1910, the District Commissioner of the Northern Masai Reserve reported that the Purko sections wished shortly to proceed to the [illegible] which had been set aside for the [illegible] ceremonies, and to take some 10,000 cattle with them. The Purko Masai living in the Loita Plains likewise asked, through Lenana, for permission to proceed to [illegible]. Arrangements were made with the East Africa Syndicate, and the Northern Masai were permitted to take their cattle to the Kinangop Reserve but, although the Masai living in the Loita Plains were informed that they themselves might go to Kinangop, they were forbidden to take their cattle with them for fear of infecting with East Coast fever, the stock belonging to the European farmers through whose lands they would have to pass and of carrying this disease to the Southern Reserve.

By December, the Northern Masai with 10,000 cattle but unaccompanied by their principal chiefs, Masikonde and Legalishu, had moved to Kinangop, but the ceremonies were commenced prematurely, for Lenana, on hearing that the Southern Purko might not take their cattle with them, withheld his sanction, which is necessary, according to the customs of the tribe, before a start can be made. On January 16th, 1910, he sent orders to Kinangop for the warriors to proceed with their cattle to the Southern Reserve in order to hold the ceremony at Ngong. At the same time he appealed to the Governor and pointed out that, unless his authority were recognised and his instructions obeyed, he feared a disruption between the two sections of the tribe.

On February 2nd, the Acting Governor held a meeting at Nairobi, at which were present Lenana and those elders of the Northern Reserve that were taking part in the ceremony on Kinangop. Lenana made a direct appeal to the Governor and stated that the condition of affairs which had arisen since the last E-Unoto ceremony, whereby free inter-communication between the two sections of the tribe had become impossible, was gradually but surely disintegrating his authority, a matter of great regret both to himself and to his people. It was, he explained, an unheard of thing that there should be two ceremonies for one section of the tribe, one on Kinangop and the other at Ngong and, since the Southern Masai were forbidden to take their cattle to Kinangop, he desired the Northern Masai to proceed to Ngong to hold the ceremony there. He further stated that it was his most earnest wish that all the Northern Masai should move from Laikipia and inhabit the proposed extended Southern Reserve. The Governor informed Lenana that he could not sanction the move of all the Masai without consulting Masikonde and Legalishu, but, as regards the ceremony, he was quite willing that it should be held at Ngong if that was Lenana's wish and if he could arrange matters with the people concerned. The Masai elders then proceeded to Lenana's kraal to discuss the matter with him there, with the result that they returned to Kinangop, and, having collected their cattle, proceeded with the warriors to the Southern Reserve. It was, fortunately, unnecessary for the Government actively to intervene in support of the Laibon.

On February 28th, 1910, a second meeting was held at a camp known as [illegible], close to Lenana's kraal near Ngong, with the Masai. At this meeting there were present, besides Lenana, Masikonde and Legalishu, respectively the senior elder and the spokesman of the senior warriors (who are generally referred to as the two chiefs of the Northern Masai). These two representatives of the Northern Reserve not only agreed to the suggested move but expressed themselves desirous of it. It was accordingly proposed to carry it out as soon after the rains had commenced as practicable.

Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner of the Northern Reserve, was appointed Special Commissioner for the move, and, as several European and Somali interests were affected, he was directed to co-operate with the Secretary for Native Affairs who was to arrange the details, and submit recommendations for the displacement of the white settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro.

Everything went well. The majority of settlers were public spirited enough to consent to the Masai passing over their farms, and but separate routes were arranged. Special officers were deputed to accompany the herds of cattle and a survey was commenced on Laikipia for farms to which the settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro might proceed.

In April, pleuro-pneumonia, which for some time past had been prevalent all along the line from Naivasha to Gilgil as well as in the northern Masai Reserve, broke out among the Masai herds in epidemic form. It is possible that this had perpetuated as other tribes. But the present conditions have altered this by the confinement of the boundaries of the reserve, and in addition to the deterioration caused by the lack of fresh blood and consequent in-breeding, the cattle suffer from want of pasturage and water in certain parts of the land that has been allotted to them. It is stated generally that the quality of beef obtained from Masai cattle is very poor and is tending to become worse.

Purebred bull.

Owing to this deterioration, the Director of Agriculture suggested the immediate provision of a pure-bred bull for crossing with selected native cows. This experiment was tried, and the bull was sent to Narok, where it died in 1917, having left a few useful calves but not having survived long enough to demonstrate the success of such an enterprise.

Mr. Hemsted suggested the establishment of a Government stock farm, to be maintained at the expense of the Masai, and intended solely for the benefit of the tribe. This would be of an experimental nature at first, but would be developed as circumstances required, and as funds permitted. The half-bred stock produced on the farm, especially the bulls, would be sold to the Masai with the object of improving their herds. In conjunction with this farm a dairy industry might be started, and the Masai taught to manufacture ghee and dairy produce. This would tend to make the scheme self-supporting. As a commencement, Mr. Hemsted asked sanction to purchase up to one hundred native cows or heifers and a few pure-bred bulls, and to establish a farm in the reserve by means of the funds derived from the Masai Purposes Account.

His proposal received the support of the Director of Agriculture, who thought that far-reaching results might thereby be obtained in the improvement of Masai cattle.

The scheme was discussed by the Governor-in-Council on the 14th of April, 1917, when a decision was given that the time was inopportune for the establishment of such a farm, and the further consideration of the matter was postponed until the conclusion of hostilities.

Sir Henry Belfield's memorandum on development of the Masai.

Before proceeding on leave in April, 1917, Sir Henry Belfield recorded the following minute on the subject of the development of the Masai:—

"The proposal" (for the establishment of a stock-farm) "is based on the assumption that the policy of the future is to develop the Masai as pastoralists. If this assumption is correct, the proposal is sound. Personally, I would rather see the possession of enormous herds gradually discouraged by taxation, and encouragement given to industrial habits. Further, I would prefer to see beef and export markets provided by our European graziers rather than by the Masai. The proposal should stand over until the question of taxing of the Masai cattle has assumed a more definite form."

Section 6.—THE E-UNOTO CEREMONY.

Purpose of the ceremony—Description of the ceremony—Kinangop—Application by the Masai for permanent residence on Kinangop—E-Unoto ceremony in 1918—Negotiations for abrogation of rights to Kinangop—Conditions used by the Masai according to custom—Result of negotiations—Renewed applications—Move to the Rea Sands—Completion of the ceremony—Discussion by Masai Council on surrender of Kinangop.

The E-Unoto Ceremony, which looms large in the history of the Masai Moves, is a ceremony held according to Masai tradition at intervals of approximately seven years. The duration of the ceremony is from three to six months for each tribal division or group of divisions, and the duration for the whole tribe may, therefore, take from two to three years.

Purpose of Ceremony.

The purpose of the ceremony is not too clear, but it is said to be for the handing over of the guarding of the Masai country to the incoming age of warriors, and it takes place a year or two before the circumcision ceremonies. On the completion of these ceremonies, the past age of Moran commence to take wives and go out as Elders. A similar proceeding used to be held by the Nandi, but at the close of the expedition of 1905 the Nandi were induced to hand over the guarding of their country to the Government. In the case of the Masai the ceremony would appear to be both unessential and undesirable.

[illegible]

The following description is given by Mr. Hemsted:—

[illegible] 561

A Chief, known as "Ol Olotuno," and a Sub-Chief, known as "Ol Olaunongani," is chosen by the Elders from the ranks of the Moran for each division or group of divisions.

A black bullock is supplied, tied up and smeared with "tenden." The "Il Ayok" (boys) compete in pulling off the horns of the bullock. The one who succeeds in doing so is regarded as a great warrior.

The bullock is subsequently strangled—it must not be touched by a knife—and eaten by the "Il Ayok."

The "Aigwanak" (Counsellors) of the incoming warriors are selected prior to the ceremony. The Elders give each of them a black cloth, a heifer, a large goat and some honey.

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A new name is given to the outgoing Moran, and the incoming Moran are given an "age" name.

Immediately after the E-Unoto, the "Il Ayok" return to their fathers' villages, where they are circumcised by certain "Il Tundu," and their heads shaved.

They then form "Manyattas" of their own, and allow their hair to grow.

They are known as "Il Barnoti" before their hair has become long.

The outgoing warriors also have their hair cut and return to their "Manyattas." They may still remain Moran for as long as three years, but it is said that in the absence of any wars this period will be much less.

There are therefore for a time, two groups of Moran, the senior and junior warriors. Constant fights are said to take place between them.

Stewart [illegible]

In the Agreement between the Masai and Sir Donald Stewart, executed in August, 1904, it is recorded that the Masai asked that they might be allowed to retain control of at least five square miles of land (at a point on the slopes of Kinangop) whereat they could carry out their circumcision rites and ceremonies in accordance with the customs of their ancestors. Sir Donald Stewart, in signing the document, stated that, subject to the Secretary of State's approval, he agreed to the terms embodied therein. The Agreement of 1911 contained a proviso that the Masai tribe should not thereby be deprived of the rights reserved to it under the former Agreement in respect of the land on the slopes of Kinangop, whereon the circumcision rites and ceremonies might be held.

Application by the Masai for permission to reside on Kinangop.

The fact that that area was still reserved for them induced the Masai in January, 1914, to apply for permission for a few of their number to be allowed to reside permanently on the area, with a view to keeping it in good order. To this application the Governor was not disposed to consent, and he issued instructions for other methods to be employed to ensure that the ground did not become overgrown. At the same time, he gave his opinion that it was not essential for these ceremonies to be held on Kinangop, and suggested the utilization of some place within the boundaries of the Masai Reserve.

E-Unoto ceremony in 1918.

In 1918 a repetition of the ceremony was due to commence, and in February of that year the Laibon and headmen approached the Officer-in-Charge with a request that certain divisions might proceed to the reserved area at an early date. The divisions affected were the Kakonyokye, Purko, Dalalekutuk and Damat, each of which should, according to custom, proceed to the ceremonial ground with its flocks and herds in the order named and remain there separately for ten months. Though the Government was bound by an Agreement in the nature of a treaty with the Masai tribe to allow them to control the area on Kinangop for ceremonial purposes, it was considered that it would be most inexpedient to allow [illegible] would be insufficient for the needs of the Masai unless the number of cattle they were allowed to take was regulated; and the cattle would constitute a source of

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danger not only to the surrounding farms but also to the farms over which they must pass in order to reach Kinangop owing to the probability that the Masai stock was, to a greater or less extent, infected by disease. Mr. Hemsted estimated the period that would be taken by all the divisions to complete the E-Unoto to be at least thirty months.

Negotiations for abrogation of rights to Kinangop.

Negotiations were therefore opened with the Masai chiefs for the abrogation of the right to control and use the Kinangop site for the E-Unoto and for the substitution of some other site within the Masai Reserve, while compensation in money, to be employed in improvements in the reserve, was offered in respect of the surrender of these rights. A suggestion was made by Ngoroo that the Kekonyukie division be permitted to use unoccupied but alienated lands in the Kedong Valley, but this was regarded as unsatisfactory in that it did not afford a permanent solution of the Kinangop difficulty, and it was thought that any solution must embrace the whole tribe by the substitution of a suitable site within the confines of the reserve.

[illegible]

While entering into the suggested negotiations with the Masai Chiefs in October, 1918, Mr. Hemsted pointed out that only four of the divisions, the Purko, Kekonyukie, Dalu Lebetoh and Damat, were desirous of proceeding to the Kinangop area, and that the other divisions were accustomed to hold their festival when and where it suited them. The Siginari, Matapato, Kaputiei and other divisions had always favoured the locality of the Ngong Hills, and the ceremony conducted by Lenana in 1911 had only concerned those divisions. The Loita division had already completed their ceremony in their own country. The main reason for the desire of the four divisions to hold the ceremony on Kinangop appeared to be a desire to remove a number of cattle out of the reserve for a time and so to relieve the congestion therein, and the result of permitting the ceremony to be held on Kinangop would be that a number of Masai would reside outside the reserve for two or three years out of every seven. The sanctity of any particular site was not of much moment.

Result of negotiations.

The result of the negotiations with the Masai for the surrender of the area on Kinangop was a revival of hope that they would be permitted to hold their ceremony in that area, and Legalishu, Masikonde, Ole Yeli and the other Purko elders stated that they did not wish to give up the land. It was, however, decided in December, 1918, that the present conditions of the country made it impracticable to allow the Masai to proceed to Kinangop for the E-Unoto ceremony, and Mr. Hemsted was instructed to advise the chiefs to select an alternative area within the confines of the reserve.

Renewed application.

In the middle of May, 1919, a representative meeting of the Purko tribe was held, and as a result the Governor was approached with a request that they be permitted to proceed to Kinangop for the E-Unoto ceremony. His Excellency answered that he was unable to reconsider his former decision in the matter.

Offer on the Mau Narok.

In October, 1919, Mr. Hemsted reported that the Purko and Damat divisions had agreed to hold their E-Unoto ceremony on the Mau Narok provided they might have the use of the land granted to Mr. Powys Cobb, generally known as the "[illegible] Land." Mr. Cobb was willing to place an area of 50,000 acres of his Likia and Mau Narok land at the disposal of the tribe for the purpose of the E-Unoto on the understanding that the ceremony commenced as soon as possible and that it would last more than one and less than two years, and upon conditions: that communications should remain open between [illegible] and Likia; that the Masai should move out of Likia and restrict themselves to Mau Narok if land-development conditions were pressed by the Government during the continuation of the ceremonies; that extension be made to the time allowed for the fulfilment of development conditions should such disease break out among Masai cattle as would render the land harmful to other stock entering upon it; that a nominal fee of one two-year-old heifer each be paid in advance by Legalishu and Masikonde [illegible] by the Masai for the E-Unoto; and that the Masai be forbidden to cut down young and valued trees for building or firewood.

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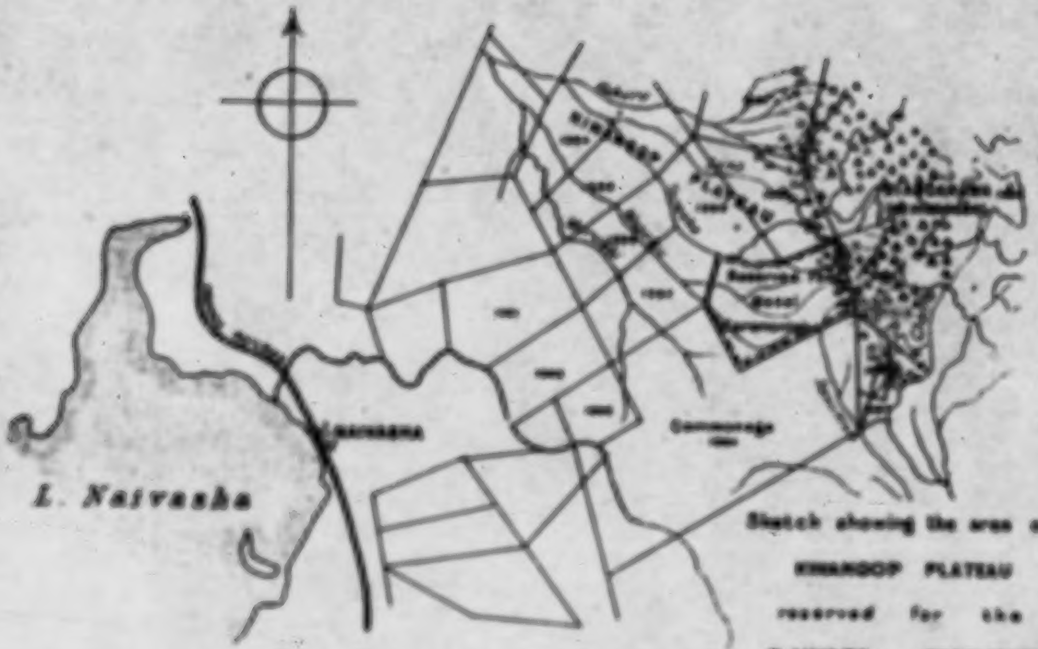

Sketch showing the area on
KINANGOP PLATEAU
reserved for the
E-UNOTO CEREMONY
Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch.

4: Sandford G-4.5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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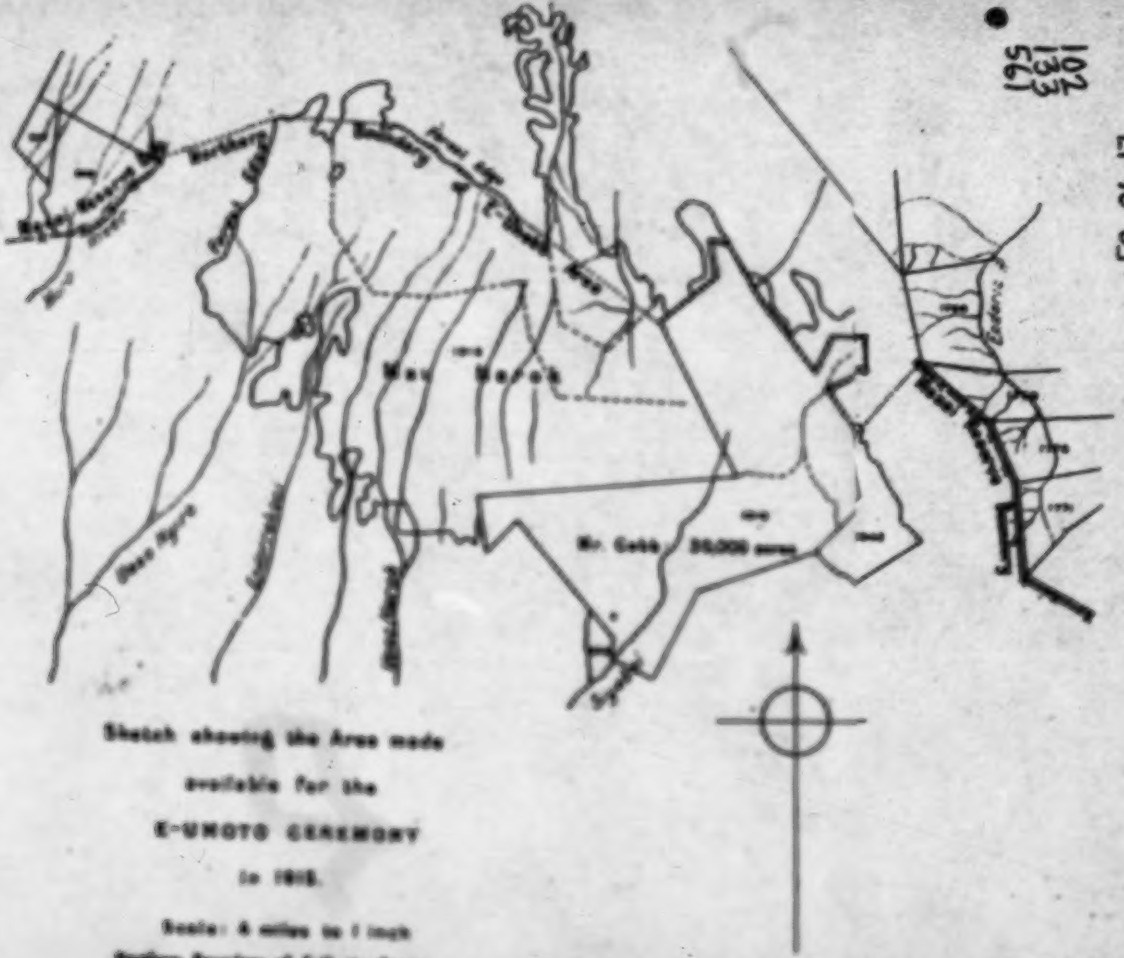

Sketch showing the Area made
available for the
E-UMOTO CEREMONY
in 1918.

Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch
Northern Boundary of E-Unoto Area

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The Masai chiefs agreed to these terms after prolonged negotiations, and they were approved by the Governor on the 28th of October. Mr. Hemsted reported that the ceremony in regard to the Purko division would occupy from five to six months, that the Damat division were uniting with the Purko and that these people were to proceed to the Mau Narok in some two months' time, provided the rains were favourable.

Completion of the ceremony.

The ceremony proper, in so far as it affected the Purko division, commenced in November, 1917, and was completed by December of that year. The new age of the Moran took the E-Unoto name of Merutarot.

The Loita, Siria and Salei divisions held their E-Unoto about April to July, 1918. The new name of the Moran of these divisions is "Il Kishongo." The last age was known as E-Rotet, in common with the Moran of all the divisions.

The Matapato and L'Odo Kilani held their E-Unoto together at a place called En-Doritoroni at the foot of the Ngong Hills. The Sigirari held their ceremony in the Loitokitok country. The Kaputiei held it near En-Doritoroni, but apart from the Matapato and L'Odo Kilani.

Discussion by Masai Council on surrender of Kinangop.

The question of the surrender by the Masai of their rights to the reserved area on Kinangop was considered at the inaugural meeting of the Masai Council in April, 1918, when the Council stated that it was not prepared to authorise the sale of the Kinangop reservation, but it would *further* consider the matter.

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Section 5.—PUBLIC WORKS.

(A) Buildings.—Ngong—Narok—Mara River.
(B) Roads.—[illegible] Road—[illegible]—Ngong-[illegible]—[illegible].
(C) [illegible].—Mara River—Uaso Nyiro.

(A) Buildings.

Ngong.

A small wood and iron house was built for the clerk in 1912.

Two stone houses for the use of the District Commissioner and District Clerk were completed about May 1914. The *clerk's* house has been occupied by an Assistant District Commissioner.

An office, with an iron roof and rough plaster walls, was erected in January, 1916, by the District Commissioner.

A small store was erected during 1916.

Narok.

Three small two-roomed houses consisting of unlined corrugated iron were completed in March, 1917.

An additional office and a store were constructed in the same year.

Two water tanks were placed at the houses of the Officer-in-Charge and the District Commissioner in 1916.

The estimates for 1916-1917 provided £100 for additions to buildings at Narok Station. This sum was utilised in quarrying and dressing stone and in cutting timber for a new house for the Officer-in-Charge.

A fire-place was built into each of these two houses in 1916-17.

In 1917-1918, an additional clerk's house was constructed.

Mara River.

A two-roomed iron house was built in April, 1914, and a clerk's house was erected in the same year. The former house was lined and improved during 1916-1918.

A new office was constructed during 1917-1918.

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Population. 162

With regard to the potentialities of the Masai as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Masai in the Masai Reserve numbers no more than 43,000. Of these, it may be assumed that about 20,000 are males of all ages, while some 4,500 are Muran. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately 10,000 males are boys under the age of the Muran class, while the remaining 5,500 are elders. It will thus be seen that the tribe under consideration is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, specialization will be necessary if the attributes of the tribe are to be utilized to their fullest capacity.

Conservatism. 181

Sufficient has already been said of the conservatism and slothfulness which are the dominating characteristics of the Masai. The state of idleness in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has resisted all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilized lines. The only measure which has attained to any degree of success is the establishment of trading centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Masai to a small extent to the advantages of imported articles, and has created some desire on their part to invest a proportion of their enormous capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to desire anything more progressive than flour, sugar, and honey in the way of food, and such imported articles as umbrellas, blankets, cotton sheeting, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state.

Employment for the Muran. 178 464 561

The semi-military organization which has been handed down by their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Now that raids are ended, the Muran have nothing to occupy their attention, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing them into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative pressure, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will, the Masai will do nothing except fight with the weapons they know, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Muran, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken.

Stockmen. 464 561

It is known that, by their training from their earliest years, the Muran are experts in the handling of stock. Each boy has been accustomed to herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other nation in the world that can boast such a measure of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after circumcision and the assumption of the status of warrior, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys, and his ability in this direction is thereby wasted.

On European farms. [461] [149]

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Masai of the Muran class are employed by various farmers in herding cattle, but, even to this extent, the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity—and the limits of what is not undignified are very materially confined. Manual labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Masai are physically incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a wage high enough to satisfy their avarice, if they are considerately treated, and if they regard the climate of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds.

Demand for such labour.

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who would make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is smaller still, while the utility of the Masai as a whole in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whom they do not know, and by the weakness of their constitution, which renders them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Masai suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to alter their conception of their dignity so as to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a smaller remuneration the work that they will consent to do.

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It seems doubtful if either of these courses can be pursued without exercising stronger measures than persuasion, for this latter has not been lacking in the past. The numbers of the tribe being so small, it would certainly appear to be inadvisable to compel the Masai to undertake agricultural labour for work outside the reserve, as such a step would be sure to cause active discontent without adequate results, but there also seems to be no reason why these expert herdsmen should not be made to exercise their talent to the exclusion of the inferior material obtainable from other tribes. Herdsmen are of essential service to many farmers, and from among the Masai can be drawn some of the best herdsmen in the world.

Employment in K.A.R. or Police.

The reputation for cunning, organisation, and militarism which the Masai have enjoyed in the past has also led to consideration of the possibility of utilising these powers under modern conditions, by enrolling a number of Moran in the King's African Rifles and Police. Experiments have been tried in this connection for more than fifteen years, but, save for some individual exceptions, they have proved unsuccessful. One or two Masai who have succeeded in passing the necessary tests have developed into reliable and efficient soldiers and policemen, but, in spite of repeated trials, the vast majority, discharged as unlikely so to develop, have been turned back to the reserve and represent so much time, labour and money wasted. Such soldiering and discipline appears to the Moran to be too nearly akin to work to be acceptable to them, and they adopt from the first an attitude of passive resistance and listlessness, the exact opposite to that keenness which is essential to successful development. So much has been learnt from past experience, and the compulsory recruiting scheme which is now being acted on, apparently with the consent and approval of the elders of the tribe, has not yet shown signs of any improvement in this attitude. It remains to be seen, however, whether this renewed attempt to break down the barrier of conservatism and sloth will be such as to induce the Moran to take part, as a matter of pride in their ability to do so, in a branch of utility for which their traditional training would appear admirably to suit them.

General employment of Moran.

The employment of the Masai Moran as herdsmen, or as askaris, seems to be the only obvious method by which they can be called on to demonstrate their position as an asset to the state outside their own reserve, and, provided that sufficient development can be procured inside the reserve, it would possibly be bad policy to insist on outside labour by any of the other classes of Masai males. It remains to consider what may be the best means of utilising their services within the confines of the reserve, and this question is closely connected with the potentialities of the Masai possessions.

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Masai stock.

The wealth of the Masai is entirely invested in stock, and is said to amount to the colossal figures of 713,000 head of cattle, more than 2,000,000 sheep and goats, and 10,000 donkeys. This stock is concentrated in a reserve of some 14,600 square miles in extent, of which part is waterless and unfit for stock, and of which part is regarded by the Masai as unsuitable for cattle owing to a suspicion of disease. These two actual and problematical disabilities combine to make the stock-carrying capacity of the reserve but little in excess of what it carries at present, and it is maintained that, without the provision of veterinary facilities, and without the undertaking of public works towards the better distribution of the water, the reserve is now so full that the annual death-rate cannot be less than the annual increase, or in other words, that the amount of stock owned by the Masai is now stationary.

Veterinary work.

As may readily be imagined, the problem of providing veterinary facilities for these vast herds presents such difficulties on account of its magnitude that very considerable increases would be necessary in the Veterinary Field Staff before anything but isolated attempts could be undertaken. This has been the main difficulty in the past, and must remain so at any rate until the cessation of war conditions enables the Government to augment its Veterinary Department by the addition of other qualified officers. Money has been voted in the Estimates for the financial year 1918-1919 for a commencement to a comprehensive scheme of veterinary research in the Protectorate, and these proposed activities affect the Masai Reserve in many ways. A dipping scheme is to be introduced which will,

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The matter was discussed in Executive Council on the 21st of June, 1917, when Mr. Hemsted, who was present, stated that there could be no doubt that the members of these "*Sirits*" were well aware of the identity of the murderers and were deliberately shielding them from justice. Several murders of Kikuyu had recently occurred in or near the Masai Reserve, and an exemplary punishment was considered necessary. A fine of Rs. 20,000 was accordingly imposed on each of the three "*Sirits*," the total fine amounting to Rs. 60,000. The Secretary of State conveyed his sanction by despatch, on the 22nd of August, 1917. Some seventeen hundred head of cattle were seized in August as security for the payment of the fine, but, by October, no portion of the fine had been paid in cash. Instructions were, therefore, issued for the fine to be recovered by distress, by the sale of the cattle to realize the amount of the fine imposed. This sale was postponed owing to an outbreak of lung-disease among the herds.

*648 Permission to shoot lions, December, 1916.

52. Owing to complaints by the Masai of the damage done to their stock by lions, and on account of several incidents where natives had been killed by these beasts, permission was granted in December, 1916, to District Officers working in the Masai Reserve, to shoot lions in the Southern Game Reserve, in cases where there was good reason to believe that the animals were dangerous.

Move of the Kakonyukie Division to Ngong Hills, December, 1916.

53. Owing to the constant trespassing by the Kakonyukie Masai on the farms in the Kedong Valley, that division was moved in December, 1916, and was located in the vicinity of the Ngong Hills, an area which had, for some time past, been practically unused.

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As the Kakonyukie cattle were highly susceptible to East Coast fever, it became necessary to erect a cattle dip for them, the dip already in existence at Ngong being insufficient for their requirements. The site selected for the new cattle dip was near the Kiserian Stream, ten miles south of Ngong, and its construction was approved on the 9th of January, 1917.

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Murders near Dagoretti, March, 1917.

54. In March, 1917, a young man and three boys were brutally murdered within a short distance of the Masai border, near Dagoretti. The circumstances of the crime pointed strongly to the fact that the Masai must have been the offenders, but there was no evidence of their complicity and no punishment was inflicted.

Murder of two Kikuyu boys, May, 1917.

55. In May, 1917, some Kikuyu were attacked while grazing their cattle in their reserve within one mile of the Masai boundary, and two boys were killed with spears. A witness, who saw the whole incident, escaped with his life, and subsequently gave evidence to the effect that the murderers were a band of Masai. In the judicial proceedings which ensued, the absence of any motive for such a deed on the part of the neighbouring Kikuyu was clearly established, while a motive was present in regard to the youths of the Masai tribe, as it was by native custom necessary in certain circumstances for such youths to have blooded their spears before admission to the forthcoming E-Unoto ceremony. It proved impossible to trace any of the individual criminals, but it was considered that sufficient grounds existed for holding five divisions of the Masai tribe, resident in the neighbourhood, responsible for the outrage. The perpetration of a number of murders of the same nature and in the same area a short time previous to this crime, in no one of which had sufficient evidence been obtainable to warrant the imposition of a collective punishment, influenced the Governor in determining the severity of the penalty to be inflicted in this case and, as it appeared that the belief was growing among the Masai that they would escape punishment for such deeds if they were perpetrated outside the limits of their own reserve, he determined to make the punishment an exemplary one, and a fine of Rs. 20,000 was imposed under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on each of the Masai divisions implicated, namely, the [illegible], L'Oita [illegible], Matapato, Kaputiei and Il Dalalekutuk sections. It was decided that, from the proceeds of the fine, blood money should be paid to the relatives of the two Kikuyu victims.

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[illegible]

56. Early in *June*, 1917, unrest was reported among the Masai of the Purko and Loita tribes. On the evening of *June* 3rd, the Purko commenced operations for an attack on the Loita, and the District Commissioner, Narok, who followed

them as far as Narosura on the following day, failed to get in touch with them, they having proceeded to Loita country. On the evening of the 4th of June, the Purko returned before the [illegible], and on the night of the 5th proceeded to [illegible], having refused to listen to the advice of certain elders who went to restrain them. On the 6th of June, the Purko returned home. No fight occurred, the intervention of certain [illegible] of the Il [illegible] having prevented bloodshed, and the influence of the elders being then sufficient to turn the Moran back. Throughout the disturbance, the medicine-man, Senteu, was protected by the Moran of the Il [illegible]. 648* 561 578 628

In spite of the fact that this incident resulted in no serious trouble, recent events sufficiently indicated that the [illegible] Moran were a little out of hand, both as regards the Government and their own chiefs and headmen. Additional police were, therefore, procured for temporary duty in the Masai Reserve. The measures adopted to bring them under better administrative control included a visit by the District Commissioner of Narok and [illegible] to each of the Purko Moran villages, where all Moran from each village were interviewed. Legalishu, Masikondi, Ole [illegible], and the principal Aigwenak of the elders and Moran were present, and Seggi joined the party later. [illegible] ringleaders were arrested, all outstanding fines from the Moran were collected, and a number of bullocks and donkeys were procured for the Military Supply Corps. These measures were completed before the end of August. No opposition or obstruction to Government orders had been offered by the Moran, and although the relations between the Purko and Loita divisions continued to be somewhat strained, it appeared that they were convinced that Government would not tolerate a breach of the peace and, as Mr. Hemsted reported that he saw no reason to fear any recrudescence of the trouble, the additional police were withdrawn.

87. In August, 1917, Mr. A. Morrison, the lawyer who had been appointed counsel for the Masai in the "Masai Case" brought a civil claim for some Rs. 20,000 against the chiefs and elders concerned in that case. The case was heard in the High Court, Nairobi, in January, 1918 and the action was dismissed with costs. Mr. Morrison's case. August, 1917. 648*

Before the military forces had moved into German East Africa, the scouts employed in patrolling the border were largely composed of Masai Moran, who showed considerable skill and acumen in obtaining information, while such men were also employed as messengers for the Political Officers, and as herds at the stock depots. Over that portion of the boundary, west of the Uaso Nyiro, they were almost the only scouts employed, and they rendered valuable service in that area under the command of a few Intelligence Officers. While they were under the military authorities they received high wages and rations, but, in September, 1916, these scouts were placed under the control of the Administration, and the payment of wages to the majority of them ceased from that date. Under these conditions they proved somewhat apathetic at first and were inclined to resent the fact that work was expected of them, but they behaved well on the whole and proved themselves efficient scouts. The elders willingly supplied food for the Intelligence Officers and their employees throughout this period.

Intelligence work.

649*
561

The Loita Moran kept out five patrols of from four to six men each at the expense of their division and the L'Oiayuk kept out one such patrol. In times of emergency additional patrols were supplied by these divisions free of cost to the Government.

The intelligence work on the Uaso Nyiro-Mara section was finally closed down in July, 1916, and the General Staff expressed their appreciation of the manner in which the work had been carried out.

In the early months of 1915, a number of rifles (about one hundred) were distributed among the Moran of the Laitokitok, Pulyani (Purko), Kakonyukye and Sighirari divisions and the possession of these arms gave them more confidence, with the result that they scouted nearer the German border, while the armed Masai acted as a screen along the frontier. The Governor considered that this measure was unobjectionable so long as the rifles were under the control of the military authorities, and so long as the holders were genuinely employed on definite military work.

Distribution of rifles.

These rifles were supposed to have been withdrawn in June, 1916, but it was not until December of that year that the last were handed in. There is no doubt that the possession by the Masai of these few rifles largely helped to instigate the majority of the raids which the Masai carried out against tribes in German East Africa.

From the outbreak of war until September, 1916, supplies of mutton for the troops were obtained by means of Somali traders, who exchanged trade cattle for wethers and who, by this method, succeeded in obtaining about one hundred and sixty thousand sheep. Bullocks were bought for cash, or exchanged for heifers, some four or five thousand being obtained by this method.

Supplies.

648*

In October, 1916, three officers of the Veterinary Corps were sent to the Masai Reserve to purchase sheep and bullocks for cash with the assistance of the Administrative Officers. The system worked satisfactorily and, with few exceptions, the Masai sold their stock voluntarily. In two months, 10,000 wethers and 4,300 bullocks were obtained, but owing to representations from the Command Live-stock Officer that supplies were not coming in fast enough, twelve officers and non-commissioned officers of the East Africa Supply Corps were despatched in December to obtain supplies under the command of Major Ross, D.S.O. Some 40,000 wethers were obtained by these officers by the end of February, 1917, but the Masai did not appreciate the manner in which they were obtained and assumed an attitude of passive opposition, concealing their wethers whenever a Supplies Officer was in the vicinity. Several prosecutions and the imposition of some heavy fines did not succeed in overcoming this attitude.

Major Ross and the Supplies Officers left Narok in March, 1917, and the Supply Corps came under the control of the Director of Agriculture. Sheep and bullocks were subsequently requisitioned in the Ngong District, but there is no record of the number obtained. Mosiro and other parts of the Narok District were also visited, with the result that several thousands of bullocks were procured.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Oaths or Ordeals

121 The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo[1] Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of necessity, fallen into disuse. 114 They have been written down 115 from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the *'L-aimer*[2] [521] age, and have received the *imprimatur* of the *'L-oibon* Párit. Párit[3] has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the *'Süure*[4] age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

121 The notes are brief and unscientific, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai custom in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'L-oikop : Murder

683 (*a*) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

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[1] Kisongo is the Masai name for the southern Masai areas. It includes [-3A] almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted to-day. The principal Masai "Districts" included under the name Kisongo are (for the purposes of this article) [illegible] and [illegible].

[2] Circumcision of [illegible], approximately, according to Hollis.

[3] Párit is a brother of [illegible] and [illegible], of Kenya. They are all three of the clan of the medicine-men or 'L-oibonok. Ol-Onana (Lenana) was Párit's father, and Párit is [illegible] brother by a different mother. Párit came down to Tanganyika in [illegible] by his own desire, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of [illegible]. ([illegible]; Kilimanjaro; E; 7 & 8).

[4] Circumcision of [illegible], approximately, according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was somewhat later among the Masai of Tanganyika.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land 631
(except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) 648
"without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Kenya Colony, but they have maintained more of their original customs and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Councillors" (L'Aigwanak) chosen from among the Moran. 561 901 [361]

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligations save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained as the fighting strength of the tribe for periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [836] [220]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Olosho) which probably had their origin as clans or kinship groups, but have no clear correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and *most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the* period at which youths became Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation 639 [623]

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[1] Introduction to The Masai by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL.12 Masai FL.12

GOO grade system. It consists of six senior Washili, or age grade leaders, from the three effective age grades, six deputy Washili and eighteen Wazee wa Nchi, elected citizens of standing and authority (three from each age grade). These thirty men comprise the Kyama Council and elect their own speaker. The functions of the Kyama are similar to those of the Engigwana described above. The election of the Jumbe is in the hands of the Kyama but they must reach a unanimous decision on the subject.

The elected Speaker of each Kyama kya Mwanga and three other Washili chosen by the Kyama sit on the Kyama kya Uruka, which is in effect a Tribal Council, fulfilling the functions of the lower Kyama but at a tribal level. In addition the Government reserves the right to nominate six members. The Kyama kya Uruka elects six Washili each year on the Chief's Council to assist him in all his duties. One of these is the Kyama's Speaker.

The Arusha and Meru Chiefs are not united in any formal manner, but there is a single Treasury for the whole District.

THE MBULU NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Mbulu District the four Native Authorities shown in the statement bear a variety of titles, Wawutmo in the case of the Mbulu (Iraqw) and Gorowa (Fiomi), Mtemi in that of the Barabaig (Mangati), and Mangati in the case of the Mbugwe. One of the Iraqw chiefdoms has a large jurisdiction, extending to 29,600 taxpayers, but it is said that only one tribe, that of the Gorowa (Fiomi), has had any strong tradition of chiefship. Here the chiefdom has been in the hands of a Muslim ruling family of more advanced status than the pagan peasantry, and the chiefdom is in this case hereditary. Among the Iraqw (Mbulu) and Barabaig the administrative structure is built on the clan, and the chiefship is an innovation. Among the Mbugwe, authority was formerly vested in spiritual functionaries known as Wa-mangati, whose position had something in common with that of the Laibon of the Masai.[1] The method by which Chiefs in these three tribes are now chosen is described as that of "popular discussion and acclamation." Only one of the Chiefs is said to show any strong personality or ability, and only two are literate.

The sub-chiefs here bear the title of Getam or Sagoshan, the Headmen that of Yelaam, Barichand or Mtwara. Both sub-chiefs and Headmen are chosen by the Chiefs in consultation with their Elders in local meetings.

The difference in tribal composition is reflected in the attitude of the Chiefs on the subject of union for joint purposes, for they have not as yet united in any formal federation, and there appears to be opposition to closer union. There was formerly no combined Native Treasury for the District, as each Native Authority maintained its own Treasury. As from 1st January, 1949, however, the Chiefs of Iraqw, Gorowa and Mbugwe agreed to combine their Treasuries but the Barabaig Treasury remained separate.

THE MASAI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

CAT The Masai District has presented a problem of peculiar difficulty in the application of the Native Authority system, and it would be an advantage if the observations made here were read in connexion with those made on the similar problems in the Masai Country of the Kenya Colony.[2] As there also the central feature of Masai society has been a well developed system of age-

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[1] See page 288.

[2] See page 171, Chapter II.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

561 grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men, roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (moran) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other aspects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has rested 623 625 791 562 nominally with the Elders (ilmoruak) who have passed the stage of moran, and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the moran themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the moran with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

195 791 623 Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1938, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

646 A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives; there is, however, provision for the addition of moran or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

692 There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo 902 Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent reorganization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position those Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Whitehouse.

101 These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the south-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chyulu Hills. They belong to a large [619] section of the tribe called I'Sigirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kisongo, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kisongo living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming yet a third name "Il Oitokitok." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Engoitokitok," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

561 I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age-group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with this form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai tribe is divided into age-groups called *il poror* or *il-aji*. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcision and the left-hand circumcision. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and thus make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

[781] Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The circumcisions which commence about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is assured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become sponsors and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called [illegible] must be held. The boys receive their [202] instructions and immediately don short cloaks made from black calf skins and anoint their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what is called an *ol amal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it is assumed that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol amal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village. 561 [601] [579] [576] [361] [253] [794]

The ceremony commences with a dance called *engipaata*; for this the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras. [535]

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok*—the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *ol-piron*, also a new circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife. [251] [762]

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Ol-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

Soon after the emhangera ceremony, the elders take three or four of their charges to visit the "medicine man." They take with them three or four new gourds as presents for the "medicine man," who is called *ol-oiboni*. They must also take with them the bark and root of a tree called [illegible]. I have not been able to identify the tree; it is said to be [illegible] and is not found in the Loitokitok area. The root and bark are ground to powder and used to make a medicine named [illegible], an ingredient used in the preparation of a wide variety of charms. The elders inform the "medicine-man" that they have broken the fire-stick and present the boys to him and say "Ol piron lang olo, [illegible]"—"This is our fire-stick, we are one."

On their return home the boys' leaders seek one of their number to appoint as their spokesman called *Ol aiguenani*. They make no special efforts but during the many debates, to which they devote much time, they note those who show special ability; but ability to speak well is not in itself sufficient; there are other considerations of far greater importance.

There are certain families whose sons must not be chosen for they would certainly die if elected; again, the conduct of other families has an evil reputation and must be avoided. Nor would it do to select a spokesman from the *Enkidongi* or medicine-man section or from the clans reported to be unlucky.

The ideal *l'aiguenani* is one born of Masai parents in Masai country of a family from which *l'aiguenak* of former age-groups have been chosen. He should be wealthy if possible and a member of a lucky clan, must be energetic, not given to favouritism, and known to be fond of his tribe. That he should be an outstandingly good speaker matters not, provided that he satisfies the other conditions. It is said that his efficiency in debate will improve after he is appointed.

The names of possible candidates are submitted to the *Il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves. It is particularly a matter for the leading boys of whom there are probably several by this time. They are called *legwanak*, and are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held.

Usually a *l'aiguenani* is chosen from among these *legwanak*. They discuss the matter secretly amongst themselves sending off one of their number on some pretext in order to be able to discuss him freely. When a decision is made the boys call some of the *Il-piron* elders and send for the boy chosen. When he comes the *legwanak* say to him: "*Ign* [illegible] *ol aiguenani*"—"We make you our spokesman." If he shows reluctance, as he may—for many show shyness in the office—he is seized by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off to inform the news to his family. When the family has been informed the new [illegible] is presented with his badge of office called [illegible]—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the [illegible] elders who spit honey wine over it; it is then blessed by the [illegible] boys in similar fashion and handed to the [illegible]. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and long life. Later the boys present their [illegible] with a heifer and a goat. [illegible]

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the [illegible] may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe. [illegible]

When the boys have elected their [illegible] the [illegible] elders take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called [illegible]—the red ball. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent rinderpest in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at [illegible] in [illegible] for which a famous medicine man [illegible] supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. [illegible] received [illegible] heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend. [illegible]

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its owner. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably effects [illegible]

789 791 another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

● 561 [561] After some years the boys are circumcised, and become moran warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopir* plan to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior villages called *imanyat*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *ol-ewal* just as the boys did before the *endungore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'sirit*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the haft of his spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*En olo Il Moricho*" or "*En olo Il Tuliaoni*"—"This way the Moricho, this way the Tuliaoni." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join. [561]

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more *sirits*. Having joined a *sirit* a warrior may retract at any time before that *sirit* forms the first warrior village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves one *sirit* to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted. [598 627]

The *sirits* once formed, the warriors now approach the *il-piron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of *drilling*—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be erected.

[791] The *enkiguoni* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally binding. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *il piron* planned to make their special care, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

If however there is to be no left-hand circumcision the *Il* piron elders arrange to hold the fire-drilling ceremony. 541

This ceremony finally binds together the *Il* piron elders and their moran charges. The warriors and the *Il* piron elders decide on the suitable site for the first warrior village. The warriors, together with their mothers, sisters and cattle move in close to the site chosen and for the time being occupy any deserted village in the vicinity. When the warriors announce that they are in readiness, the elders give orders that on the morrow all the cattle are to move to a new village. Next morning at sunrise, the *Il* piron tell the warriors to bring the heifers, *four suria*, four calves (all black). The heifers must have perfect eyes, straight tails, each must have four teats, in fact they must be perfect in every way. The warriors must find also a young bull, either a black one, or a fawn one; it must be perfect in eye, have erect horns, and its dam must still be alive.

The warriors are warned that after the ceremony, the bull must not be castrated, or sold, or slaughtered for food.

The nine cattle having been selected, eight moran are called for, and eight girls. The warriors must have unblemished eyes, must not have killed a Masai, or have committed any serious offence against tribal laws; also they must not all be right-handed. [illegible]

The girls, too, must be free from blemish and must not have reached the age of puberty. The warriors don a short coat of black calf skin, make a circle of white round the eyes, down each cheek meeting under the chin, and each carries a bow in his hand. The warriors and girls then drive the cattle to the centre of the chosen site and prevent them from running away. The rest of the warriors watch this proceeding until as soon as the ceremonial bull and the heifer have taken up their positions; the remainder are driven forward to the waiting group. The warriors then seize the ceremonial bull by the horns and twist its head so that the right side of its face is uppermost. A piece of hide which must have been cut from the back of an ox which when slaughtered was found to be in perfect health, is then placed on the bull's upturned face. The *Il* piron elders who performed the first ceremony were dressed in robes made from sheep skins. New fire-sticks are then produced, placed on the bull's cheek and fire made by drilling, by the *Il* piron elders. [illegible]

The smouldering charred wood falls on the hide, pieces of frayed cedar bark are added, and the glowing ember is blown into a flame, when a fire will start with dry clean wood. The fire is then placed on the ground in the centre of the village; the place is given the name *osinga*. Large pieces of wood are added. One elder is then left to look after the fire whilst the others walk in a circle round the assembled

561 herds. They are followed by the moran and the women who set back to mark where the elder has walked. When the circle is demarcated, they set to work to build a thick thorn fence to enclose the village. [illegible] By the time the work is finished, it is evening. A special piece of olive wood is brought in readiness. The log used in a recent ceremony is described as being four to five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thigh. It had been part of the trunk of a tree, not a branch. A tree leaning in the direction of the rising sun had to be found. When it was cut, it had not to be allowed to fall to the ground.

In the evening before the cattle return, the olive log is brought and one end is placed in the fire. The wood is ——— and as the log burns away it is pushed further into the fire. The mothers of the moran each come with four small pieces of olive wood to light at the fire; this they take to their temporary hut made of hide to start their fires. No other source of fire may be used. Great care must be taken that the log is burnt completely. A close guard is kept over it to prevent the cattle from disturbing it and to prevent evil-wishers from taking away the log to make black magic. The moran guard the log through the night and the morning.

[illegible] In the morning all the moran come and form a circle round the fire; they bring their spears, and wear lion-manes and head-dress. Four elders of known good character, with wives and children, then walk round the moran; two walk one way, two the other. One of each pair has a gourd of milk, the other a gourd of honey wine. As they walk they fill their mouths with milk or honey wine and blow it on to the sitting moran.

561 534 782 Each girl has a slipper of green grass which when removed is held in the left hand, the gourd in the right. As the liquid is sprayed, so is the green grass waved toward the moran. As they walk the elders call down the blessing of the *Engare-Narok*.

Engai!

[illegible]. Enjore.
[illegible]! Engai.
Ketum il [illegible] o l'ang Ai. Hai.
[illegible] naini il [illegible].
Ketiodi il [illegible], eya
Aiu il kejeh [illegible]! Enaya.

Enoyo Lenana; [illegible] a Mbatiyan enjore
[illegible] il [illegible]
Ketum ol Donyo [illegible]
Ketum [illegible]
[illegible] en apo il o [illegible].

[illegible] Engai! [illegible] Engai! 881
[illegible] e l'engai! [illegible] 537
[illegible] Engai [illegible] 782
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Engai! [illegible]
[illegible] Engai!
[illegible] ——— ——— Engai!
[illegible] Engai!
[illegible] Engai [illegible]
[illegible] Engai! [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Engai;
[illegible] Engai!

Be trustworthy! Oh return safely! O God.
Become ye sure and of God.
May the Olasenee pass you by.
With those who bite us, that they may find dry stones on
their journeys.
Lenana and Sofiah and Mbatian wish thy safe return!
Grow up! Become possessed of wise heads!
Become as great as Kilimanjaro!
Be the father of my children; be fathers of boys and girls,
Be fathers of children, and bring them up well!
Have many wives!
May God love you! May the moon love you!
Be as sweet to us as milk and honey.
May the red bull of the night guard thee,
May our age be the bravest.

As soon as the prayer is finished the warriors rise and disperse. Later they reassemble and celebrate the founding of their age by dancing and singing. Thus is a new Masai age founded. Henceforward the warriors live apart from the rest of the tribe. 881

communities and others, each to its own area. But the Moiko section seems to have flourished above all others and penetrated, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession. 175 648

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European intervention have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1880 to 1900 was one of great upheaval for the Tanganyika Masai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and submergence of many of the sections, together with the loss of the loyalties which held these sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. 191 To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to. 175 541

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.

Age	*Approx. date of circumcision.*	*Important Events*
DITOKO	1776	Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Subet belonged to this age.
KIDAARUNI	1791	Masai penetrated to Usagara.
MERISHARI	1806	Conquered Marpara from Adero.
KIDOTU	1821	Took Rubeseno from the Kwavi. Kibeis (the original Waarusha) brought up from Arusha Chini. Capture of Engaroka.
TWATI	1836	Captured Loitom, Moiko and Kibaya from Kwavi. Drove Datoga from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this age.
NYANGUSI	1851	One or two survivors of this age still alive. Took Kiteto from Datoga. Death of Subet.
LAIMER	1866	Moiko Masai called up by Mbatian for Laikipiak war. Capture of Talamai and Kibaya.
DALALA	1881	Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Baru. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Lenana and Sendeyo belonged to this age.
TWATI	1896	Civil war between Lenana and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Parit promoted to this age, though actually Dareto.

9.Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 PL.13 Masai PL.13
Kisonko

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[illegible]

DAREITO	1911	Death of Lenana. The Great War. Fight between [illegible] and [illegible] at [illegible] Return of [illegible] to Tanganyika. [illegible] belonged to this age.
KISALE)	[illegible]	Death of [illegible] Death of [illegible]
[illegible])	[illegible]	Death of [illegible]

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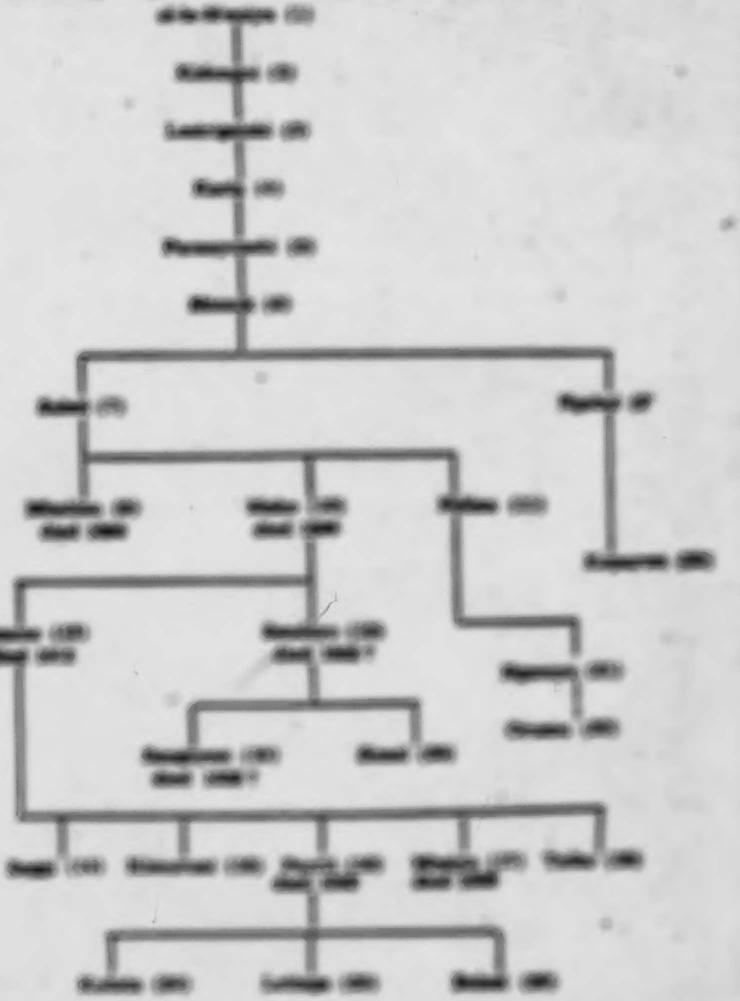
[illegible]

GENEALOGY OF THE LAIBON FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.



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Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kisongo Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kisii, about 1918, were taken to Laibon Parit (31), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

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The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom some of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

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In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Loitai informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Laikipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeyo were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

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The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Embolosat ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakonyuki section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Eunoto and Ngesher ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such matters, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Merisho age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The il Piron elders, i.e. those of the complementary age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1938, after the [illegible], or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naiber Mori decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the laibon had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Dareto elders would have been justified in acting as they did. 561 791

On a safari in June, 1939, laibon Mbeiya laid down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (dead) and breaking its legs and pulling out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to circumcise his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. [754] It is generally considered improbable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the laibon's part in this matter is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Mbeiya was passing off as original a curse which had been used in Kenya for years.

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the laibon, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the laibon of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' laibon may be sought; for instance the Eunoto or passing out ceremony of the Dareto age-set of the Kisongo section was nominally held under Parit, and the Unoto or promotion ceremony of the Kisale age under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling Laibon at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adoptee of the [illegible] clan, one [illegible] (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. [578] By agreement the Mondul laibon received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Naberera and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to [illegible] at [illegible], Kenya Colony. In another case, [illegible], laibon of the Loita section, performed the Unoto or promotion of the Kisale age for the Matapato and Loitokitok sections, which are nominally under Kimurai (53). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' laibon to the section does not necessarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section.

In the choice of Laigwanak or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kisongo. Hollis, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . . ", but this is with reference to the [illegible] who is a chief of ceremonies only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwanak or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the Il Piron elders keep in very close touch with the laibon, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charges stand down. Most of the Laigwanak of the Kisale or Senior Warrior Age of today state that they were first taken to Laibon Parit when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to [illegible]; they were of course only boys at the time. The laigwanan of [illegible] for instance

541 791 states that he went eleven times to *Parit* before circumcision, numerous times after initiation, when Parit was resident at Monduli, and six times to laibon Mbeiya. One cannot regard the figures as accurate, but at least they show that the laibon is in close touch with the developing moran and their guardians.

791 787 It has been recorded above that the third main function of a laibon is to lay down the ritual and to provide charms for local ceremonies, connected with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

Whitehouse's description of visits to the laibon for this purpose is of interest. "Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred — and probably effects another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained, a drought for instance may make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony, or perhaps the objects of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what has happened to his medicine and will be angry if its fate is concealed from him."

541 791 Most of these points are confirmed by Kisongo informants. The organization of deputations to the laibon is one of the principal duties of the laigwenak. I have heard it explained of various elders — "he always goes on travel as he has a good memory." The "complicated directions" usually involve the building of a boma, to which all the participants temporarily remove; the duration of their stay is laid down by the laibon. The charms given may be applied in numberless ways; they may be eaten or drunk, sprinkled or smeared over the bodies of those concerned. They may be mixed with decoctions of tree roots, with the fat of the sacrificial beast, or even with the liquor amnii if the slaughtered beast is pregnant.

This slaughtering of a beast is the most usual ceremonial, its species, sex, colour and condition being laid down by the laibon. Examples of such types are — black bullock, black and white heifer [illegible], brown ram, pregnant ewe, etc., etc. The skin of the beast is usually cut up and divided amongst the participants. Such pieces of skin are termed il kerenka (sing. ol kerenk) and may be worn on the finger, (a particular finger being named by the laibon) hung round the neck, or suspended over the door or bed in the house.

Other variants concern the situation of the boma, or the phase of the moon, so altogether there are an infinite variety of ceremonies which may be ordered.

9.Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

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One is frequently told by elders that in the old days the laibon concerned himself primarily with the moran, giving them war charms, supervising their ceremonies, etc., his payment consisting of a share in the spoils of war. After the Eunoto or promotion ceremony it appears that a special raid was undertaken, called enamuluran, a portion of the produce of this doubtless being handed to the laibon. I should think, however, that the custom of collecting cattle by general levy on the Age, at some time after the ngelgiyo or 'passing-out' ceremony, is old established. When such cattle are presented to the laibon, it appears customary for him to decree a ceremony, and to supply charms for it free of charge. This, according to some elders, was the last official connection between the laibon and the age as a whole, except of course his national association with the il piron elders concerning the initiation of a new age. Other dealings with him by the elders were in the nature of private practice.

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Before concluding the reconstruction of a laibon's functions in the old days, reference may be made to certain administrative actions alleged to have been taken by certain past Laibonok. For instance Subet (2) is alleged to have recalled a section of the Masai who had penetrated far into Gogo country (see Sec. 3), and when they refused to obey him, sent a body of moran to compel them to return. Again he is credited with transplanting some families of an agricultural tribe, il Kikuyu, from Arusha Chini to the slopes of Mount Meru, to grow his tobacco, and to dig water furrows, notably the Engare ol Motonyi and the Engare Nanyuki; these agriculturists subsequently developed into the Arusha tribe. Mbatian (3), apart from his civil war activities, took such 'administrative action' as telling the Masai not to move at the time of the famine — in fact imposing a quarantine — and ordering the tribe not to resist the Europeans.

But it frequently happens that past events become linked with the names of important personages of the time, when in fact there was no connection between the two. This may have occurred at least in the case of those actions recorded above attributed to Subet. But even if this is not so, the few instances of executive acts undertaken by the laibon in the past are insufficient evidence on which to base any theory that the institution of the laibon at any time approached the status of chieftainship amongst the Masai.

The picture of a pre-European laibon may therefore be re-constructed as follows:—

He was primarily the medicine man of the moran, both in respect of war charms and of supervising and blessing their promotion ceremonies. As junior elders, the Masai still maintained contact with the laibon (paying ngibore fees) and as il piron elders visited him on behalf of the new age. But except as private patients the elders seem to have done less business with the laibon than they do to-day. Administrative, executive or judicial functions were not part of a laibon's duties, though he could exert a certain amount of control by judicious advice. He was in no sense a paramount chief.

9.Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

C. Modern adaptation of the Laibonate — increase in local ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — extra-tribal contacts — attitude of Masai to Laibon and spiritual matters in general — conclusions.

The main factor altering the position of the laibon is the enforced prohibition of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of charms for cattle raiding was one of the Laibon's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the laibon's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, local ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the laibon's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is improbable that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Laibon.

In respect of the cattle paid for the age grade ceremonies their number seems to be laid down either by custom or by the laibon himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Engidong clan are not expected to contribute, but they add a 'present' of their own, e.g. in one instance encountered, in the proportion of 1 Engidong cattle to 40 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Masai in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a known mob of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the [illegible] age in respect of their [illegible] ceremony, or by others that they represent payment by the [illegible] age in respect of their [illegible], or protection. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying; they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

In the matter of local ceremonies the situation is different. The case of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, or his wives not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the laibon is indicated — thus the movement starts. Other local ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is affected by drought or disease, or again the laibon himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the laibon is throwing the bones as it is in a trance deciding some matter for a Government deputation, he will suddenly switch round and say "I see the [illegible] people frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the case today. When Mbeiya's boma was infected with measles in 1935 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Nairobi and beyond, bringing back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his boma for him. Koisaia (26) is reported to have obtained a charm to kill Mbeiya from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Lesinge (33) and Salaasi (38) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Koisaia.

The cult of the laibon must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fecundity and sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Masai, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the laibon to be capable of controlling these unseen forces; he is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will ensure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken to ward off an impending catastrophe.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Masai, but it is considered that the majority of the Kisongo hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kibaya, have a reputation for consulting the laibon more frequently than others, but more or less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary disrepute in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the laibon. Modern contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Masai are completely sceptical; others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do what they are told, "to be on the safe side". One of the chief factors which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system. From early adolescence the future leaders of the tribe, the laigwenak and [illegible] are frequently taken to the laibon by their guardians, the ol piron elders. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the reverential attitude of the elders to the laibon, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkened hut foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that so long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the consequent power they give the laibon, will be perpetuated. True, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but [illegible] will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small; on the

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other hand those brought up in awe of the laibon are in a position to influence large numbers of their fellows. For this reason it is probable that these beliefs will be held for many years to come, although their intensity and their outward manifestations may decrease, as in fact they appear to be doing in Kenya today.

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The time has now come to summarize this section and to draw our conclusions. In doing so it will be necessary to differentiate between the Masai attitude to the laibon, and the laibon's attitude to the Masai. The Masai do not regard, nor have they ever in the past regarded the laibon as a chief or kingpin. They regard him as an intermediary between themselves and the unseen, and in consequence hold him in great respect and awe. *Any* order that he cared to give, suitably disguised as a prophecy, would therefore be obeyed; the laibon is thus a great potential political leader. But here the attitude of the laibon to the Masai comes in. It may be that in the past a laibon has felt responsibility for the welfare of the tribe, but there are very few instances of this taking practical form. At the present time one can only judge the attitude of the laibon to the Masai on facts, and these reveal that he thinks only of himself and not of the tribe. With the possible exception of Lenana, no laibon has made any effort to assist the tribe to adapt themselves to modern conditions. Rather the reverse; for their own personal profit they have made themselves the focus of the tribe's intense conservatism. When cut off from one source of income (a share of raided stock), they have used their powers in devising an alternative (uncontrolled sale of charms).

AGE GRADE SYSTEM.

	Generation A.		Generation B.	
Time.	Age a. (right)	Age a. (left)	Age b. (right)	Age b. (left)
1.				
2.	circumcision			
3.				
4.	[illegible]			
5.	junior warriors [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]		
6.		[illegible]		
7.	[illegible]	[illegible]		
8.				
9.		circumcision		
10.				
11.	senior warriors	[illegible]		
12.	towards end of	junior warriors [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	
13.	this period		[illegible]	
14.	beginning to	[illegible]	[illegible]	
15.	marry			
16.		senior warriors		
17.			circumcision	
18.			[illegible]	
19.				
20.			junior warriors [illegible] [illegible]	
21.	• • • • • • •			
22.			[illegible]	[illegible]
23.				[illegible]
24.				
25.				circumcision
26.			senior warriors	[illegible]
27.				junior warriors [illegible] [illegible]
28.				
29.				[illegible]
30.				senior warriors

SECTION III: THE AGE GRADE SYSTEM.

A. Basic importance of the system — an age-grade chart — formation of a new age and its ceremonies — [illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible].

The importance of the age grade system to the Masai social organization cannot be over-estimated. It regulates a man's conduct in relation to his fellow men; it is the basis of such political organization as the tribe possesses; together with clan and kinship it regulates a man's sexual life; organized religion, certain economic activities, and above all military organization are dependent on the age grade system for their existence.

In this chapter it is necessary to describe the system and thereafter to examine it in relation to the above-mentioned activities; this presentation has the unfortunate effect of appearing to divide up its manifestations into water-tight compartments. So it must be stressed at the commencement and borne in mind throughout that there is hardly a phase of male activity which is not subordinate to, regulated by, or interlinked with the age grades.

It is not proposed to give full particulars of every ceremony; in some cases these are not known, in others they have been recorded elsewhere. Sufficient detail however must be included to emphasize the theme of this chapter, that the system is all-embracing and that in its various aspects it absorbs a considerable amount of the energies of those participating and is a constant theme of thought and conversation throughout the tribe.

A brief outline of the system will enable the ceremonies hereafter mentioned to be appreciated at their true value.

The accompanying chart, dealing with two generations (*olaji*: plural *ilajijik*) A. and B. each composed of two ages (*ol porror*: plur. *il porori*) a, b, c, and d, will, it is hoped, make the overlapping clear. Disregarding their relationship with the previous generation, age a is circumcised over a period of four years. Being the first age in the generation they are called *emurata tatene*, the right hand circumcision, but they are none the less junior warriors, i.e. junior to those of the previous generation. After about 7 years they are promoted to senior warriorhood in a ceremony called *eunoto*. About this time, preliminary steps are being taken for the formation of age b, which will also enter generation A, as the left hand circumcision, *emurata kedianye*. About the time when age a is demanding promotion to senior warriorhood, some 8 years after their circumcision, age c of generation B, once again right hand, will be in process of formation. When c have been circumcised, b can perform their *eunoto* ceremony, thus becoming senior warriors, but nevertheless remaining left hand. When age c is nearing senior warriorhood, and age d about to be circumcised, ages a and b perform the *ol ngesher* ceremony, whereby they become elders.

From this it will be seen that the right hand circumcision invariably enjoys a longer period of warriorhood than the left, also that the country is never without a standing army of at least one complete age of warriors.

9.Fosbrooke G-5 (1935-1948) 1948 Fl.12 Maasai Fl.12
Kisongo

(—continued)

An attempt is made in the chart to give approximate dates to the various stages, regarding the circumcision of age as the year one. It should be borne in mind, however, that each period is liable to variation: in the old days famine, civil war, etc., played havoc with the ordered sequence of events; modern conditions are causing certain further modifications in the system.

From the base, if the chart be studied vertically, the various steps through which any particular age passes become apparent; if it is read horizontally, the position of the ages in relation to each other at any given time can be ascertained.

Before embarking on a description of the various ceremonies involved, it may be helpful to tabulate as an example the Kisongo generations and ages and their status as at 1948, so that reference may be made to concrete examples in the succeeding pages.

Existing Generations and Ages.

Kisongo 1948.

Name	*Status*	*Present political occupation.*
Nyangusi	Retired	Do not participate actively.
Laimer	"	" "
Talala	"	" "
Tuati	Senior elders	Guardians of morans, both Kiseyie and Merishu.
Terito	*Junior elders*	Guardians of uncircumcised youths, now being formed into new age.
Generation name not yet given.	Kiseyie = senior morans	Now beginning to marry.
	Merishu = junior morans	Now claiming privileges of the seniors.
	Uncircumcised youths	Performing ceremonies prior to circumcision.

The movement for the formation of a new generation comes from the elders immediately above the existing warrior generation, i.e. at present the Terito. Such elders are the sponsors of the new age, and their guardians and instructors in all the ceremonies which lead from boyhood to elderhood. The reciprocal term [illegible] is used between guardian and ward, being derived from the [illegible] which plays a conspicuous part at certain stages.

The official closing of one age is performed by the [illegible] of the succeeding age, i.e. the Terito closed the Merishu age before commencing to organise the formation of the uncircumcised youths into an age of their own. It is marked by a ceremony called [illegible] (the cutting)

561

[illegible]

[illegible]

[97]

[illegible]

[illegible]

B. Junior Warriorhood — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Manyattas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion ([illegible]).

As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose paramours the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit, the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, il [illegible] or il [illegible], followed by il [illegible], il [illegible] and finally il [illegible]. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves into companies (sirit) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (emanyata). In Tanganyika the manyattas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis e.g. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible], [illegible], etc. [illegible], though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably of one area, divide themselves up frequently on a clan basis.

When the whole of one age has been circumcised, and the [illegible] ceremony performed, the members of the completed age feel it is about time to claim some privileges from the prior age. Whether the age immediately above is of the same or a different generation does not appear to affect the rule that these privileges are only granted when the senior age begins to doubt its capacity to retain them by force. The chief privileges are (a) the marking on the shield known as [illegible] (most important), (b) the spear handle of black wood called [illegible], and (c) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission from the senior moran.

No formal demand is made. The juniors will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will be promptly beaten up and retreat. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the [illegible] ceremony.

In the first few years subsequent to circumcision, the new moran have been kept in a position of subjection by the moran of the preceding age or generation. But these latter have now handed over the marks of seniority and entered into elderhood through the [illegible] ceremony. What does this change of status mean to the moran concerned?

Fundamentally it means that having shown their worth in the fights for the coveted insignia, the junior moran are now deemed capable of guarding the country. Their seniors can retire to the more peaceful occupations of marriage and animal husbandry, in the knowledge that their juniors are worthy successors. But their period of junior service has done more than make them efficient warriors; it has moulded them in ways which are today more important than the purely military aspect. Both as individuals and as a group they have been taught respect for authority. If as individuals they are found associating with the mature girls who are the perquisite of the seniors, they are beaten; if as individuals they quarrel with a member of the senior grade, the wrath of the whole of that age falls upon them. An example of this is the case of a [illegible] of Kibaya who at Kibaya quarrelled with a [illegible] of Makami. The Kibaya [illegible] promptly gave the [illegible] a good beating. A few days later, having got news of the quarrel, a party of Makami [illegible] appeared on the scene to beat the [illegible]. But having heard that the Kibaya [illegible] had done the job for them they went home forthwith.

The ceremony of promotion from junior to senior warriorhood, called [illegible], is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age grade system. Hollis, Merker and Storrs Fox all regard it as the step between warriorhood and elderhood, and only Leakey and [illegible] (the latter somewhat vaguely) regard it as a ceremony of promotion.

It is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kisongo traditionally perform the ceremony at [illegible] near Moshi, i.e. on the eastern slopes of Monduli mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all. The Arusha tribe

562 also by tradition join in the Kisongo ceremony. The Laitayok of Loliondo are believed to perform the ceremony by themselves. The Loita and Purko of that area do not apparently attend the ceremony performed by the remainder of those sections living in Kenya. They are sent a bit of the hide of the ceremonially slaughtered ox, and certain charms, and hold what one might call a "sub-ceremony" of their own.

But all members of the age attend; some are doubtless detained by family matters, others are perhaps deterred by a magical test designed to discover whether they have had intercourse with a married woman. However, a very large number do attend and perform various ceremonies. They compete in seizing an ox by the horns, ceremonial fire is kindled, pigtails are cut off but are subsequently grown again, the laonon or olotuno, the ceremonial and spiritual head of the age, is chosen and installed. (The details of the ceremonial are described by Whitehouse under the term "fire drilling ceremony", which must in fact be the eunoto, the exact procedure is however unimportant). The change in status which the ceremony gives is discussed earlier in this chapter. [110]

C. Senior Warriorhood and the passage to elderhood — the Ngesher ceremony — economic status of Warriors — elderhood — the distribution of population between the ages — advantages and disadvantages of the system.

562 It is obvious from the chart that the right hand age of one generation must go through a longer period of senior warriorhood than the left
583 hand age. That moran may not marry is a rule so frequently repeated that one is almost compelled to believe that in pre-European times they did not marry. But there are many indications to the contrary. Aged informants will sometimes admit that they were married whilst still moran, though they often did not set up house on their own, but left the wife with her mother or mother-in-law. Again there is a special ceremony by which a moran is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle. He brews beer for his age mates, calls them to his house and receives the necessary permission and blessing. This does not, however, permit him to drink milk by himself; this must always be done in company with his age mates until such time as all go through the ngesher ceremony. It is improbable that this ceremony is of recent origin; one therefore feels justified in concluding that towards the end of the period of senior warriorhood the moran were beginning to marry and settle down.

562 The final step between warrior- and elderhood is taken at the olngesher or olngeshar ceremony. Just as the [illegible] ceremony of circumcision starts off the age for the whole tribe, it appears that the Kisongo ngesher closes it throughout Masailand. It is traditionally held at Oldoinyo loo Lmoruak (the hill of the Elders), Upper Kerya, Masai District. Here again details are only of interest in so far as they show the purpose of the ceremony. Pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, denoting entrance to elderhood. A single official, [illegible], is chosen as the head of the whole generation, thus symbolising the union of the two ages which have up to now been independent, each with its own laonon or ceremonial leader.

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (ondare arro) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma, for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. [illegible]

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 15 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform today are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the uncircumcised girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in ol pul, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges to greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed. [illegible]

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent. [illegible]

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the ageloni ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

§4 moran, acting as their guardians and instructors. But after the period devoted to family matters the newly made elders also start thinking about their protégés. Thus, at the moment, the Dwati are responsible for both ages of moran, Kisale and Merisho, yet the Dareto are already engaged in the preliminary ceremonies, *endungore* and *engibata*, of the future moran. This means that under the age grade system, two generations of elders are responsible for two generations of moran for a short time (note overlap on chart). But the elders who shoulder most political responsibility are the il piron or guardians of the main body of moran. The matter is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, *etc.*, whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders.

So it should once more be stressed that after his service as a warrior a Masai does not settle into a dead level of elderhood. The different generations keep themselves aloof in such matters as deputations to the Laibon (though at times they combine) and in the meetings preceding [269] and ceremonies following such deputations. A modern tendency to be noted is that when camped at cattle auctions each generation will cook and eat by itself. It is natural that men of equal age should associate, but the age grade system provides a clear-cut means of providing for this.

§4 16.2. The following table, compiled in 1938, gives some examples of the distribution of population amongst the then existing age-grade generations. It is probable that there were a few more Nyangusi and Laimer than the table indicates, but that they had been exempt and omitted from the tax-registers which were used as the basis of enquiry.

Distribution of Population by Generations.

	Kibaya.	*Samatura.*	*Engasumet.*	*Longido.*	*Total.*
Nyangusi ...	1	—	—	—	1
Laimer ...	2	1	—	1	4
Dalala ...	14	12	8	23	57
Dwati ...	58	52	23	26	159
Dareto ...	49	69	38	62	218
Total Elders ...	124	134	69	112	439
Kisale ...	82	123	55	200	460
Merisho ...	41	36	11	34	122
Total Moran ...	123	159	66	234	582
Grand Total ...	247	293	135	346	1021
% Moran to Total ...	49.8	54.3	48.9	67.6	57.0

The two most striking facts that emerge from this table are that more than half the adult male population were at the time moran, and that the Merisho or left hand age formed only a quarter of the moran population.

§4 16.3. The basic function of the age grade system is doubtless military, and now that the necessity for maintaining a standing army has been removed it might be thought that the early demise of the system is an object to be desired and encouraged. True, modern conditions make many of its features undesirable. The body of young men is largely relieved of economic duties and might be more fully and profitably employed for the benefit of the tribe and the community in general. Further, the process whereby the juniors have to fight the seniors for promotion is wholly bad. Again, the disparity of age between husband and wife is a direct result of the system; a large proportion of unmarried men leads to restlessness on their part; a large number of discontented wives leads to infidelity (even within the wide bounds of the Masai system) on theirs. Thus there is a constant threat to family stability. 561 182

But the system possesses many features of value, which are worthy of retention. It teaches discipline, manners and respect for one's seniors, the passing of which the elders of so many Bantu tribes deplore. Earlier circumcision, which would be one of the first results of any breakdown of the system, would shorten the period now devoted to herding, with consequent upset of the economic system. It would also mean that a full sex life could, with traditional approval, be practised earlier, with consequent detriment to the social organisation. Again, abstinence from tobacco and intoxicants during warriorhood are doubtless advantageous. Finally, the all embracing nature of the institution was stressed at the beginning of this chapter and was illustrated throughout. Its abandonment would, therefore, remove one of the main interests of a Masai's life, remove one of his chief topics of conversation and, unless replaced by an equal interest, lead to reduced vitality in the tribe generally.

What is required, therefore, is obviously adaptation of the system to modern conditions. The most pressing need is fuller occupation for the moran, to replace their previous military exploits. Many ideas, ranging from organised games to road work, have been and are being discussed and tried out with varying success. An alternative or complementary solution lies in shortening the period of warriorhood. This should not be done by later circumcision but by earlier standing down. If each age performed a ngeherr (or retirement) ceremony immediately after their unoto (or promotion) ceremony, they would have served as moran for a period sufficient — perhaps more than sufficient — to gain all the advantages which the age-grade system gives. Such a course would do away with the right and left hand ages in each generation. Each age would be a generation in itself, thus reducing the incidence of inter-age disputes. It would also mean that all moran would serve for an equal period and not involve the right hand age in 15 or more years' service. The Masai can adapt their organisation when conditions demand. For instance the right and left hand ages of the Dalala generation performed separate ngeherr ceremonies. The Dwati and Dareto generations were composed of right hand ages only. If such changes were possible in the past, they can and must be made at present, since the necessity for adaptation is even more imperative. 561

But retirement to elderhood involves more than the ritual act now practised at the ngeherr ceremony. It means a complete change of outlook brought about by the assumption of responsibilty in family and economic matters. In other words it involves a psychological rather than a ceremonial

561 change. To assume elderhood a Masai must have a wife or wives, and cattle. But the majority of both of these are at present under the control of the elders. How this has come about is recorded in the later section on Clan and Family matters.

The real difficulty is that neither party, the moran nor the elders desire any change; the former are perfectly happy to be in a more or less irresponsible state, the latter naturally unwilling to give up their matrimonial and economic privileges. But there is little doubt that this difficulty can in course of time be overcome, both by constant propaganda and also by economic methods. Thus, if the principle is accepted of using taxation to achieve desirable social ends, a cattle tax might be adopted to ensure a more even distribution of stock among adult males. If such a tax were so graduated that, say, 400 head in a single herd would be taxed at four times the rate applicable when divided into two herds, direct encouragement could be given to an elder to allow his sons to depart with their cattle and to the sons to take over that control, to marry and settle down.

670 Many other methods of tackling the problem may be devised, but whatever the means there is no doubt that the adaptation of the age grade system is the most urgent administrative problem and the key to political development, increased family stability, improved treatment of women and economic progress.

SECTION IV: TRIBAL OFFICIALS.

A. The Laigwanan and his Assistants — choice of Laigwanak — visits to the Laibon — insignia — unpopularity of office — the head Laigwanan — relations between officials.

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624 The following are brief definitions of the Masai terms involved:—

ol aigwanani, pl. *il aigwanak*. Hollis translates this word as 'counsellor or spokesman.' It is a generic term, and specific appointments bear their own designation, i.e.

ol aigwanani loongishu pukin, literally, the laigwanan of all the cattle. The chief lai gwanan of the age.

ol aigwanani lol kuma orok; a duly appointed laigwanan, to whom a black club has been presented.

e murt ol aigwanani; literally, the "neck of the laigwanan," the laigwanan's right hand man, in whose absence no important decisions are taken.

engopiro, pl. *ingopir*; the leading men of a given age and area. They form an inner council for appointing or degrading the laigwanan, and for the conduct of important public business.

561
624 The officers of an age are not appointed simultaneously, nor do they immediately attain their full status. Some years prior to circumcision, the il piron elders, i.e. the guardians of the youths, start coaching the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the laibon, making them sit at their meetings, etc. These senior boys are the *ingopir*, and it is their duty, under the guidance of the elders, to choose the laigwanan. At first a

laigwanan will be chosen for a large area, e.g. Naberera, including Engasumet and Barra. But later, as the number of recruits to the age increases, the ingaibo of Engasumet and Barra will choose laigwanak of their own. These latter will, however, remain in a status of slight inferiority to the laigwanan first appointed. In their own areas they will be virtually independent, but at any communal gathering the senior appointment takes precedence. [56] 629

This process of sub-division is important, as it not only gives a key to the really influential people, but also accounts for the fact that the areas of laigwanak vary from age to age. For instance, when the Dareti age was in process of formation, numbers were so few that in the whole of Tanganyika there were only three areas, Moita, Kiteto and Engaruka. In the Terito age, both the divisions and sub-divisions were more numerous, whilst the number of Kisale candidates justified even more appointments.

The visits to the laibon of the embryo laigwanak and ingaibo appear to form a large part of their training. Even prior to the selection of a laigwanan, the leading youths are taken by the il piron elders, and the lengthy discussions which precede such visits must give the youths good practice in debate. Of these visits Whitehouse writes, "when the boys have elected their *laigwanani* the il piron elders take him, together with a few boys, to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him and prepares for him a special medicine called ol [illegible] — the red ball. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe." It would thus seem, and my informants confirm, that the laibon has no power of veto over these appointments. [19] [16]

The official installation of the laigwanan may take place immediately after he is chosen, or it may be delayed. Thus in some cases it occurs before, and in others after, circumcision. An assembly is summoned for the ceremony; the ingaibo of the moran and the il piron elders are the chief participants, but others drawn both from these and from the remaining ages are naturally present. A black club is prepared beforehand, which forms the centre of the ceremony. In some accounts a cow with a female calf at heel is brought in, and its milk smeared on the right arm and on the club of the laigwanan, the divine blessing being invoked, and prayers offered that the new laigwanan may rule his people with strength and justice. Other accounts replace the milk with beer, and state that the milk need not be that of the mother of the calf, which incidentally the laigwanan keeps, but that it must be such-and-such a coloured cow. Again, others say that the club must be bound with green grass. The details are immaterial, but the ritualistic nature of the ceremony indicates that the office is regarded as one of permanency and importance.

The discussions preceding the choosing of a laigwanan never take place in the presence of possible candidates. For frequently they will refuse to undertake the work, and will run away if they know beforehand that they may be chosen. The chosen one may even throw down the

[56 / 63] club — a gesture of resignation, — when it is presented to him, but is less likely to do so if taken by surprise.

The second favourite in the discussions usually becomes the [illegible] of the chosen laigwanan, but there is no definite appointment or installation ceremony.

It appears that there is no laigwanan of the whole age until all sections and areas meet together for the [illegible] ceremony. Then one man is singled out to be head laigwanan of the age in respect of all sections attending the ceremony. Thus at the time of writing [illegible] is nominally the head of all the [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible], Loitokitok, [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] sections. But except when all meet together, he carries little weight in any but his own section. He does not appear to keep in touch with his (nominal) subordinates in other sections, nor even with the leading laigwanak of the [illegible] of other areas, — Monduli, Ngorongoro and [illegible] — which are then, in respect of the [illegible] age, practically separate sections. [illegible] claims, however, that a deputation from the [illegible] of Loitokitok came to consult him about their standing down, but he took no decision, and referred them to the laibon, the ceremonial head of the age, at Monduli.

The relations between the senior laigwanan of an area and his juniors are only important when all are concerned in a common matter. In most affairs, once a subarea has a laigwanan of its own, it acts as an independent unit. It will send its own deputation to the laibon, and perform its own local ceremonies. But when an occasion arises when the whole area acts in concert, e.g. payment of [illegible] cattle or assembly to greet a visiting laibon, the senior man takes precedence. But the relations between the laigwanan, his [illegible], and the [illegible] in any particular subarea are much more close. The laigwanan should take no important decision except in the presence of his [illegible], whose duty it is to prevent him from taking any rash step. The [illegible] also play a large part in local politics, for it is their duty to depose an unsatisfactory laigwanan, or to choose a successor to one who has resigned. But there is no definite office of [illegible]. As Whitehouse says "... they are those who have shown ability and strength [57] of character during the many debates ..." For this reason they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates in any age. For amongst those circumcised later, youths of ability and strength of character are bound to emerge who will be taken into the confidence of their seniors and so come to rank as [illegible].

This process of strong characters emerging after the age has been formed continues during elderhood. In areas recently opened to settlement, as for instance Longido, elders will emerge as leaders who are in effect laigwanak or [illegible], though lacking the title. It appears that once a laigwanan has reached elderhood he cannot thereafter be deposed. But a forceful character who is desirous of undertaking the work may in effect deprive the laigwanan of his position, and the Masai are, in fact, glad to accept anyone who is willing to undertake by no means always popular duties.

[illegible] The duties of Laigwanak — in theory — and in practice — influence in raids and war — position in regard to individual disputes.

One method of discovering the duties of the laigwanak is to ask them what they regard as their task. This method does not necessarily show what they actually do in practice, but it gives a very good idea of their own conception of the office. Placed by different informants in different orders, the following list represents the majority of the answers given:— [illegible]

(a) To collect cattle for, and organise deputations to the laibon.
(b) To represent their age in disputes with other ages, and to prevent such disputes from developing into fights.
(c) To lead their people in war, or nowadays, to prevent them going on raids, (probably a sop to the questioner).
(d) To settle individual cases — payment of debt, compensation, blood-money, etc.

One old gentleman, whose duties as laigwanan take him from his home perhaps once or twice a year, imagined himself so over-worked that he described a laigwanan's duties as being like those of a houseboy! [illegible]

The above are specific duties, but what may be called the guiding principles were best summed up by the Kisale laigwanan of [illegible] — "a laigwanan does not like to see a poor man robbed by a rich, or an old man oppressed by a young one."

But how far are these principles lived up to in practice? How are the above duties fulfilled? The organisation of deputations to the laibon, if informants are to be believed, fell in the old days mainly on the laigwanan of [illegible], as when he went to get charms for war, or to take the laibon his share of raided stock. But nowadays this duty falls on all ages except the very senior, i.e. from [illegible] upwards. If one age, say [illegible], thinks it good to send a deputation to the laibon in conjunction with the other ages, the [illegible] laigwanan will call the [illegible] and [illegible] laigwanak and together in a meeting. Here it will be decided how many cattle each will contribute, and when the deputation will depart. Thereupon the leaders of each age call a separate meeting, and decide who shall go to the laibon, and who shall contribute cattle. It is the meeting and not the laigwanan which decides these points, but the laigwanan, having obtained his position by virtue of his strength of character, probably has more say in the matter than the others. Considering that these cattle are often in the nature of fees, and that a journey to the Laibon at [illegible] is frequently unpopular, it is a tribute to the Masai organisation that such meetings pass off peacefully. No instance is on record of a single dispute coming to official notice arising from such cause. The laigwanan does not necessarily escort the deputation, but quite frequently he does. On the return of the deputation a meeting is again held to hear a report of the laibon's message, and, if a local ceremony has been decreed, to make arrangements for holding it. In any given area it is improbable that a single year passes without the dispatch of a deputation, or the holding of a local ceremony. So, considering the time it takes a Masai meeting to reach a decision, these duties must occupy a considerable — but not inordinate — proportion of a laigwanan's time.

561 624 By the very nature of the Masai organization, inter-age disputes are bound to crop up periodically (see Age-grades). In the 'Promotion' dispute between the Ilterito and the Ilmerishi of the Monduli area in 1938, the respective laigwanak played a considerable part, not only at their own meetings, but in reporting decisions to the District Office.

In the old days it was the duty of the laigwanan to assemble his people for war, and to settle the disputes which inevitably arose when the spoils were divided. But by custom he should not enter into the actual fight, but remain in the rear with a small body-guard. This is probably because the laigwanan wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked. It is difficult to say what part the laigwanak play in what they regard as their present-day duty, namely the suppression of raiding. Very probably in respect of large-scale raiding they have considerable influence. If any area were openly considering a major raid, and the laigwanan agreed to it, many would join in against their better judgment, but if the laigwanan discouraged it, the project might well be dropped.

624 627 Generally speaking it is unusual for a laigwanan to interfere in an individual dispute without invitation. It appears to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges. He brews beer, perhaps slaughters an ox and calls in neighbouring elders, together with the defendant. If a local laigwanan has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no laigwanan is present. If the defendant fails to turn up, the assembled elders will none the less discuss the case, and if the claimant's suit is well founded, they will tell him so. He in his turn will go and tell the defendant that the elders have given judgment in his (the claimant's) favour. This may be sufficient to induce the defendant to pay up, but as often as not he will refuse. The claimant may then muster his moran, and take his claim by force, in which case the defendant will call a meeting and claim the return of property wrongfully removed from his boma. And so the circle starts again. Or the matter may be allowed to drop, to be re-opened after a year or two, possibly on the appearance of some new witness.

624 To sum up the laigwanan's position in relation to the dispensation of justice, it cannot be said that he holds a formal position in the judicial system. He is sought as a judge by virtue of his qualities and not of his position. Nor is this aspect of his duties irksome, since a case means a social gathering, and attendant hospitality. The position is different of course in the case of laigwanak who are at the same time paid 'Native Authority' officials. When the assistance of such people is required, it has become customary to take the case to them in their own boma.

The above description is intended to convey some idea of how far the laigwanak do in practice fulfil the duties imposed on them. The duty of helping the poor and oppressed seems to be honoured in the breach. The deputations to the laibon appear to occupy the major portion of the time which a laigwanan devotes to public duty, but even here the time he spends is little more than that spent by the average elder of the area.

The organization of these depredations is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — to the Masai it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity to the area. 624

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The laigwanan does not enforce judgements, or [illegible] teams collecting cattle for the laibon — the matters are discussed in open forum and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the laigwanak often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got the necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no indigenous method of enforcing an order. 636 624

The relations between senior laigwanak and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran got together for raids the senior laigwanak must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the laigwanan should itself decrease. 629 178

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which laigwanak move from their areas, more especially during elderhood. A senior laigwanan of the Kisonko lives at Naberera, one from Engare Nanyuki at Ngorongoro, another from Engaruka at Payo, each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. **Other officials — the laonon — magico-religious position — his duties — the ol boru engeno — the laonotyo.**

At the eunoto, or promotion ceremony, there is chosen an official known as the Laonon, — ol aunoni pl. il aunok, — or Olotuno. He is acknowledged by all the moriana which attend the eunoto, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, as the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the laonon takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set. 561 624

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the laonon appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity. [787]

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moran, standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the laonon as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age.

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But the laiguenan is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes on them must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow, as "we can always tell the laiguenan what order to give!"

Hollis states that the laiguenan is responsible to the laibon for the appearance of the moran in case of war; this may well have been so in the old days, for it is generally admitted today that he is responsible for the moral welfare of the moran. Thus unless in cases of sickness or mourning, a moran is not supposed to cut off his pigtail without the laiguenan's permission. It is alleged, however, that the office is losing its status and authority, for whereas the Ilterito age laiguenan is supposed to have gone on frequent "tours of inspection" and to have inflicted many fines, nowadays many Il-moran shave their heads without consulting their laiguenan.

During elderhood, by virtue of his previous position, the laiguenan is still held in respect, though no specific duties seem to attach to him. He may perhaps play some part at the eunoto and ngiyeu ceremonies of the age next-but-one below, by virtue of the ol piron relationship.

Another official chosen at the eunoto is called ol loru engeno, who splits the skin of the ceremonially slaughtered ox. He is given four or five cattle as a fee, and in after life is held in respect, but appears to have no duties.

At the ngiyeu ceremony, an official, the Lamurigie, is chosen in respect of the whole generation, whose position corresponds to that of the laiguenan at the eunoto. As there is only one ngiyeu ceremony for all sections of the Masai, so there is only one Lamurigie. No duties, but considerable respect, appear to attach to the office in after life.

CLAN ORGANIZATION CHART.

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GROUPS	CLANS	SUB-CLANS
Enkishomi	Engilatema	Olgilata

1. Engojo Masai.

LAISER or L'OODOKILYENI (right hand)	LAISER	Engisiong Parkitari Parsiringo Engojo-Nanuki or L'Oodokilani Parkimaroro Parsa Sidai
	LUKUMAI	Siria Kari-ngishu

SL
6.19
6.16

MOLELIAN or L'ODOMONGI (left hand)

- **MOLELIAN**
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
- **TAROSERO**
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
- **MAKESEN**
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
- **MAMASITA**
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]

II. [illegible] (Laitayok)

LAITAYOK (attached to right hand)

- **LAITAYOK**
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
- **LUKUMAI**
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]
  - [illegible]

Square brackets indicate exogamous groups; when not shown, sub-clans may intermarry.

SECTION V. CLAN AND FAMILY MATTERS.

A. Clans — the clan chart — exogamy of [illegible] — areas peculiar to certain clans — clan responsibility.

The chart reproduced above explains the system more clearly than a lengthy description, but a few explanatory notes are necessary. The true Masai, i.e. those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinta, divide themselves into two main groups ([illegible], sing. [illegible]), the Lorok or Lorokkiteng (black bullock) who are regarded as the right hand of the tribe, and the Molelian or Loodomong (blood-red bull), the left hand. [C.19]

These main groups are in turn divided into clans and sub-clans, called on the chart *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* respectively. Some informants however reverse the terms. The clans are patrilineal, i.e. a child takes the father's clan. They are also exogamous, i.e. a man may not marry C.19

THE COIFFURE OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

[illegible] It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'moran' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffure and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the now liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood.

[illegible] It is still so customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pigtailed and ochred 'moran' discussing their performances in some [illegible] [illegible] aspect of their school days while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

[illegible] There are many variations of head gear to be found in Tanganyika: one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and loosely braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term [illegible].

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

(i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as [illegible] (Tamarindus indica L.); the name is also applied to the shrub Grewia which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes.

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

(iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

(iv) a foot or two of cord made from the '[illegible]' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, Ficus [illegible], the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For [illegible] and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase themselves. (See Marriage.)

Preparation for Initiation.—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new calf-skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called [illegible], and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and hyrax-skin garments, and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the councils, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the councils is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

During the whole time that these [illegible] groups are wandering about from village to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and hyrax-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *[illegible]*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

Those candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, as there is only one ox-seizing ceremony in the whole of Masai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping these parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan protect him with their sticks, while all the others endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other clans and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognized thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Laibonok sub-clan (i.e. the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called [illegible]. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep. [illegible] [illegible]

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the ox-seizing ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his cattle-herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy. [illegible]

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Masai, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Masai country, but no explanation of this could be obtained except that it had always been so from the beginning. [563]

As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four cows sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new cow-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

The Novitiate.—The period of novitiateship varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the bull-raising ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and [illegible]. These bird skins, once fixed in the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as [illegible] and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the manyatta or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called [illegible], which are danced by the novices alone.

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and [illegible], which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior.

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the manyatta of the warrior groups (see below).

Part III.—Warriorhood.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is [illegible], and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those novices who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single re-shaving ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*.

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *[illegible]* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *[illegible]* and a *[illegible]*, must move out together, leaving the next *[illegible]* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *[illegible]*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *[illegible]*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as [illegible] ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any [illegible] group.

Manyattas.—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single manyatta, so each manyatta is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

A manyatta consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that manyatta. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the manyatta and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The older women are there to do the work of the manyatta, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the manyattas as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a manyatta at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that manyatta, and each warrior living at a manyatta is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the manyatta, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the manyatta.

Sex Life.—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the manyattas a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the [illegible] of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them [illegible], and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

is of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so few cases of uncircumcised girls conceiving despite the Masai's sexual organization. My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no force is used by the man.

(For details of procedure should an uncircumcised girl conceive, see Childbirth.)

Permanent Lovers.—Besides the casual day-to-day lovers described above, a girl may often have a more permanent lover in the manyatta in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her casual lovers. The actual choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's husband, but this is not usual, as nearly every Masai girl is betrothed during childhood (see Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually contrives to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and to persuade him to marry her (see Childbirth).

The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public affair. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of the man's friends then summons the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she chooses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (see Sex Life). Equally the man may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

561
[884] *The Eunoto Ceremony.*—After nine years of *Junior Warriorhood* a big ceremony called *Eunoto* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from *Junior* to *Senior Warriorhood*. During the whole of the nine years of *Junior Warriorhood* they have not been allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and [302] trained into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of *Junior Warriorhood*. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during *Junior Warriorhood* is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called [illegible], and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the *Junior* to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and [illegible] especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called [illegible] of [illegible]. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the singira. [56.] [535] [574]

The Singira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built, which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called singira (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunoto* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this singira is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, some do occur either openly (see Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunoto* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the singira. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the singira is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die. [56.] [346] [792] [834] [754]

The singira is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the singira on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During [514] [754]

561 the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two
346 warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected
them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being
chosen is not at all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made,
the relations of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall
allow them to be appointed.

561 *Shaving Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the
624 warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and
point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the
[302] heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are
called respectively *olutunot* and *oloboruengene*, and there are certain very strict
regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would
result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be
chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relations. Unfortunately,
no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they
must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After
561 the shaving ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go
back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few
nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngang'ongarithi*, and from there
[361] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old
manyattas, which they vacated when they came to the *Eunutu* ceremony, but
must build new *manyattas*.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *jangienobur* or *muratege-dienye* (*see* the Age-group system). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer alone, but always two groups, a *jangienobur* and a *muratogedienye*, must transfer together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in the warrior stage who have gone through the *Eunutu* ceremony. Once there are two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether or not there is a new age-group waiting in the novice stage ready to move up into the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (*see* the Age-group system), there may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no two warrior groups may move out into the Elders' stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean leaving a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the
[591] men just leave their *manyattas* and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet
they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children
(*see* Marriage).

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized 561 steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage.

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the [881] first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage.

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas*. This period is concluded by the *Eunutu* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, 857 they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated [313 girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married 581] women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*.

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general 864 atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first 883 signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with 836 them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already

585 837 843 Moreover, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married men may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child.

585 842 Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior [561] stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children.

595 *Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).*—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will [837] probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men.

585 561 *Forced Marriage.*—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (*see* Part IX). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions.

585 *Marriage of a Virgin.*—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received.

684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no
[178] longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference
[248] should they ill-treat the boys.

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him
[304] according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four oxen.

881 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of
561 the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and ages.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Emboloset o ol-Giteng*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Giteng* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circum-
[304] cised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-
[413] looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany.

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where
[273] the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period.

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till
178 all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *'Laibartan* (*see* Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :— [56] [178] [301]

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Singolio, plur. *I-Singolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.) [535] [192]

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata e tatene* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata e kedyanye* = the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiegi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Salaash.*

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol aji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (*a*) Loita and Siria. (*b*) Kabutei, 'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name. [184] [552]

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 263, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

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[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."

[2] For other generation-names see History, *infra.*

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624 *Sirit.* The age-group of each section forms one or more *sirit* or companies. Each *sirit* has its *Aigwenan*, who performs some of the duties of a captain. The word literally means counsellor. One of the captains is considered to have authority over all the age-group as well as his own *sirit*, and he is called *'L-Aigwenan l'ol poror* in contrast to the others who are *'L-aigwenak loo sirit.*

As an example of the *sirit* divisions, the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko has three *sirits*—Il-Meshuke, 'L-Aitetti and Il-Kanyara.

When the warriors become elders the *Aigwenak* usually retain their authority.

(*a*) Generation-names common to all the Masai :—

Il Nyangusi. Very few survivors now.
Il Aimer.
Il Talala.
Il Twati. The present ruling elders and *Ol piron* to the present warriors.
Il Tareto (?). This is believed to be the new name given to the groups who have most recently become elders. It had not come into general use in Narok District when I left last May. I therefore give below the various age-group names of the warriors of this generation :—

(*b*) :—

	Section.	Purko.	Loita and Siria.	Kakonyake.	Il Damat.
Il Tareto.	Right hand	Il Meruturut.	Il Kishangop.	Il Meshuke.	Il Meruturut.
	Left hand ...	Il Kitoip.	None.	I Rayani.	Il Kitoip.
	Right hand	Il Salaash.	I Rimirim.	?	?

	Section.	Kabutei, Lodopilani, Matapato.	Il Dalalagotok.	Laitokitok.	Kissongo.
Il Tareto.	Right hand	Il Aitetti.	?	Il Kiboni	?
	Left hand ...	None.	?	None.	Il Kerimbut.
	Right hand	?	?	?	?

Some of the names are omitted because they have not yet been given, and others, *e.g.* the Il Dalalagotok, because I have not had anything to do with that section for some years.

An *Aigwenan* appears to be chosen in the first instance by the elders, but if he proves unsatisfactory the warriors sometimes exert themselves successfully to get him changed.

561 *Ol Piron.*—The elders of the generation next but one senior to another generation are said to be the *Ol Piron* of that generation. Thus the 'L Aimer are *Ol Piron* of the Il Twati and the Il Twati are *Ol Piron* of the present warriors, *e.g.* Il Salaash.

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *siril* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto.* 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means " we " or " us." 836 193 114

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. 201 832

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to " blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

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884 The *Loita* and *Siria E-Unoto* ceremony took place in July, 1929, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unoto* is as follows :—

" The *E-Unoto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

" The *O-Singira* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was [789] informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.[1] They returned about 3.30 p.m., [782] about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Singira* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to smear some cow-dung on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the *manyatta*, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Singira* hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Irimirim* (from verb *arim*, pierce). This terminated the festival.

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624 The chief functionary is the *Ol-Otuno*, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Otuno*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Otuno*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiber engāne*. *Eng-āne* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean " He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

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346 *O-Singira* (*Thingira*).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Loita E-Unoto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts [361] about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Singira*, but it was too dark to [237] see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous oxen which the warriors had slaughtered.

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884 I was informed that 109 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Singira*. After the *E-Unoto* the

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[1] Masai, *Endalingoi*, the general word for a charm.

warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder. 561 884

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the *E-Unoto* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough. [302]

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows :— 561 574 272

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men comes to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Ol Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut *see* p. 463 ff.) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Belching after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Ol-Ng'esher of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-Unoto* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Salaash* have already performed their milk *Ol-Ng'esher*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation. 561 [272] [302] [648] [177]

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second *Ol-Ng'esher* ceremony, called the *Ol-Ng'esher* of meat. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Meruturut and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *Ol-Ng'esher* in June, 1930 ; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony. [262]

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a heifer.

561 [264] [343] Prior to the meat *Ol-Ng'esher* the men must eat meat in the forest or bush. They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 292 in Hollis.

[252] [296] [158] The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is toasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitoloswa* or *Il Kiluretti* trees. The decoction of these barks makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitoloswa*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiluretti*.

561 782 539 [533] When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf of their age-group. Each one takes his skewer and rubs it in the ashes of the fire in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the sides of it and walks towards the East reciting his prayer and striking trees with the skewer. While returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipolossa* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the skewer into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of skewers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"*Na Ai aatomono atabukua olemeänikino enkila etabukutua linono lemaar il ogarak ol lughunya. Na iye Eng Ai aatomono injoki iyook ingishu naang'ang'unyi. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo Na Ai taänyiki iyook ol poror naa ol kilo. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo injoki iyook nemear il ogarak il lughuny otabukua il omunyak neinguaa kulikae omunyak nemear il ogarak il lughung. Aatomono Na Ai uasen ai engolong meilepu t'ol ondolu tangoro iyook il tiil-omunyak.*"

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out hither with my garment unbound. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thee O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thee O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike thou us with the rays which are lucky."

[533] Each age-group has a different song. The song of the Il Kitoip is "*Tangoroki iyook t'alema tauwa neduru indonata o asurai nemetii ol morani le sayet elobi.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and do not usually 561
do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a 582
warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypo- 884
thetical, and does not occur in practice. [585] [833]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, 583
and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got
the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's 561
generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where 837
lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation
he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to
vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the
stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and
that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is [684]
persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have
intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined
a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of
generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very [578]
likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from 586
him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her
back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's 835
son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother)
who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law Mother-in-law Son-in-law Daughter-in-law	Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Marei*. Relationship is not recognized 602
beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom
trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure
Masai descent, *Ol Masaini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those 764
of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 766

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[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XIII.

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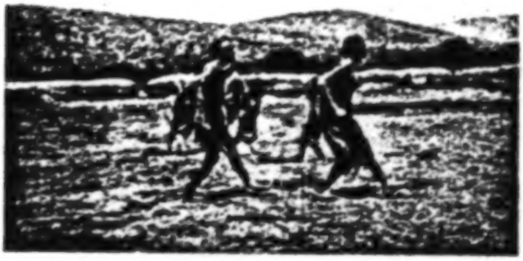
FIG. 1.



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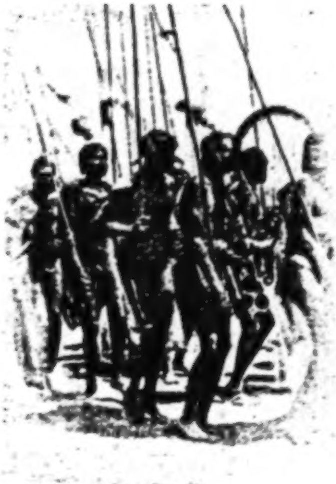

FIG. 2.

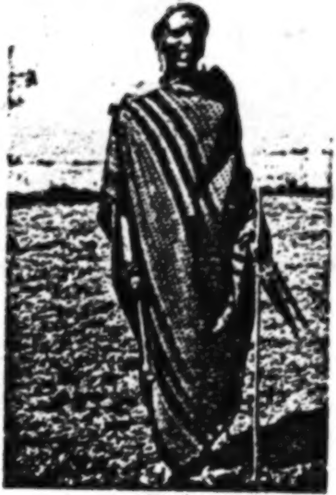

FIG. 4.

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FIG. 3.

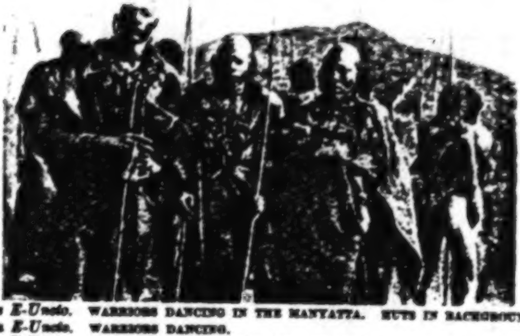

FIG. 1.—*Loita E-Unoto.* WARRIORS DANCING IN THE MANYATTA. HUTS IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 2.—*Loita E-Unoto.* WARRIORS DANCING.
FIG. 3.—*Loita E-Unoto.* OL-OTUNO, OL-OIBER ENGÂNE AND 'L-AIGWENAN (LEFT TO RIGHT), WITH O-SINGIRA HUT IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 4.—SEGGI WITH THE METAL CLUBS OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466-A]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XIV

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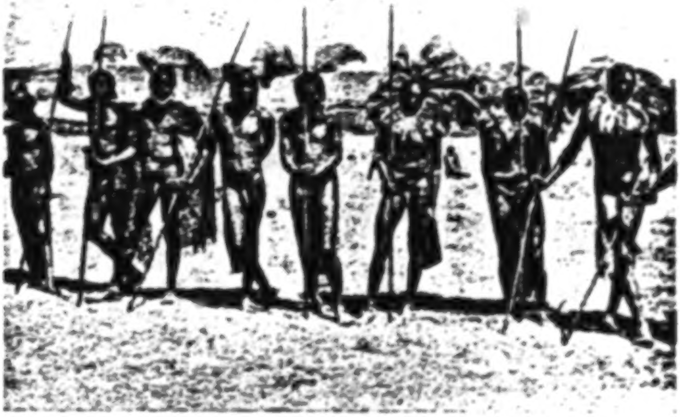

FIG. 1.—*Loita E-Unoto.* WARRIORS WITH OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESSES.

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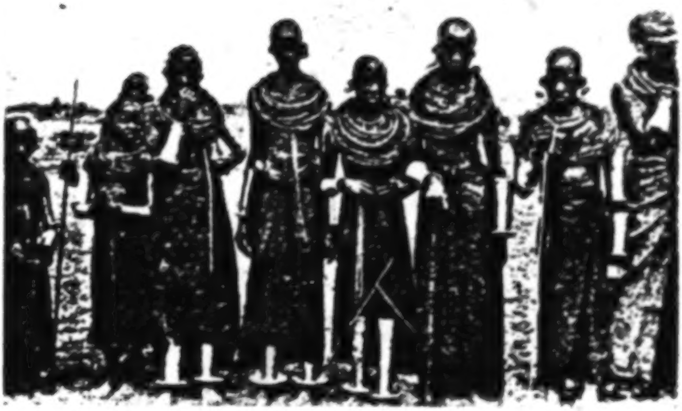

FIG. 2.—*Loita E-Unoto.* UNINITIATED GIRLS.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466 - B]

[P. 190]

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[114] **On the Masai E-Unoto.** *By Edward L. Margetts, M.D., Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of*
243 *British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. (Specialist Psychiatrist to the Kenya government, Mathari hospital, Nairobi, 1955–9). With three text figures*

121 This note will supplement Lord Claud Hamilton's recent essay
on the Masai *E-unoto* ceremonies, the details of which are not
fully known, let alone witnessed and understood. The chief value
[126] which can be claimed for the present article is the series of unique
photographs which I was able to take of some of the ritual.

● 561 It was my good fortune to attend, over a one day period, that part
[114] of the Masai *E-unoto* in which the sacred heifer is sacrificed and the
moran receive the hide finger rings. The date of the ceremony was
[789]

[text continues on p. 192]

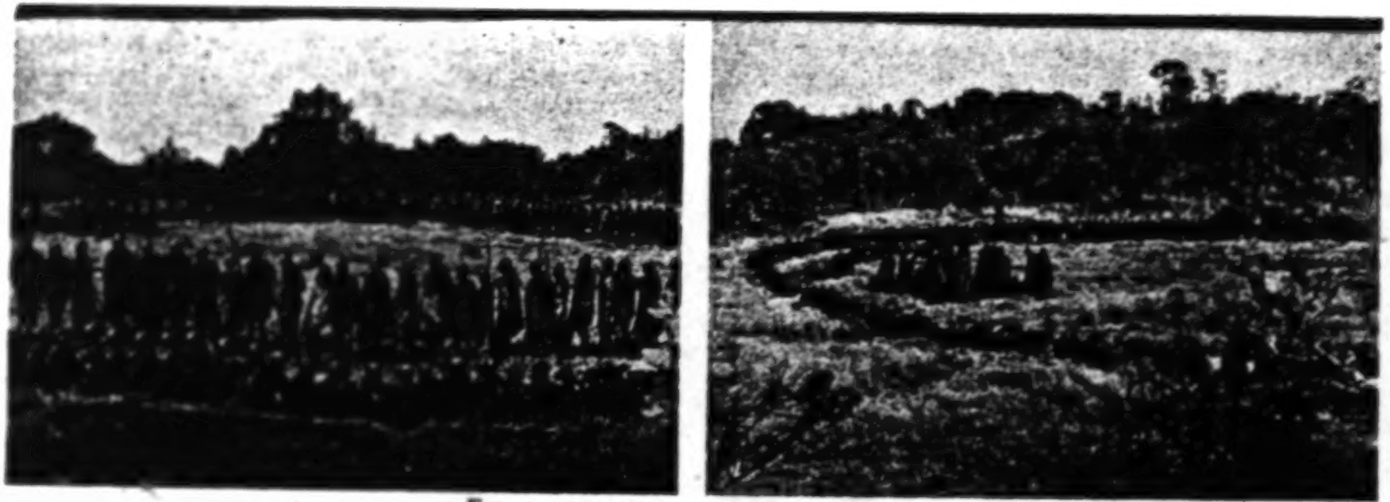

FIG. 1. THE GATHERING OF THE MURAN

(a) About 500 muran gathering in a circle; (b) Seated and ready to start the heart and finger-ring ritual.

[P. 191-A]

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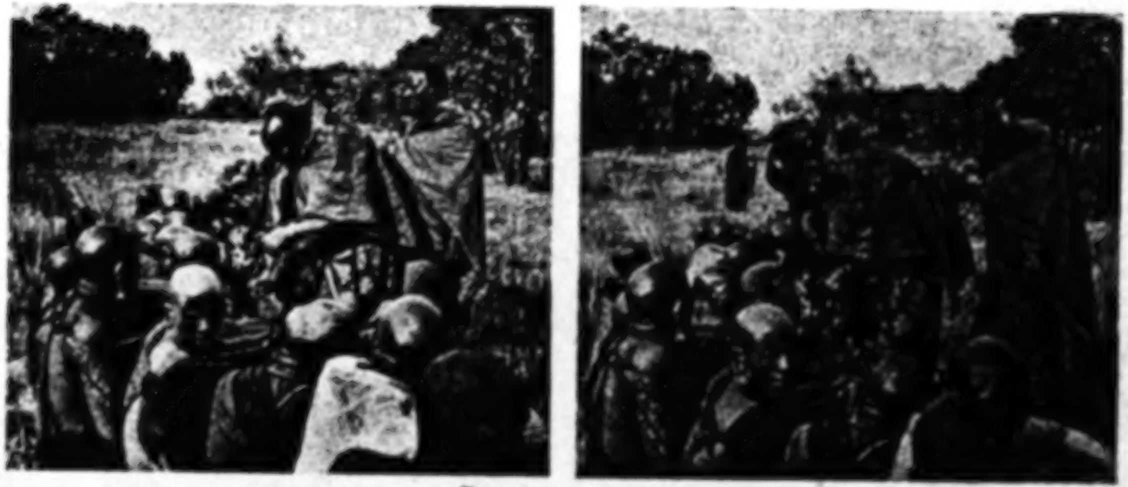

FIG. 2. THE HEART

(a) Heart rubbed on the forehead; (b) Muran takes a bite of the heart.

[P. 191-B]

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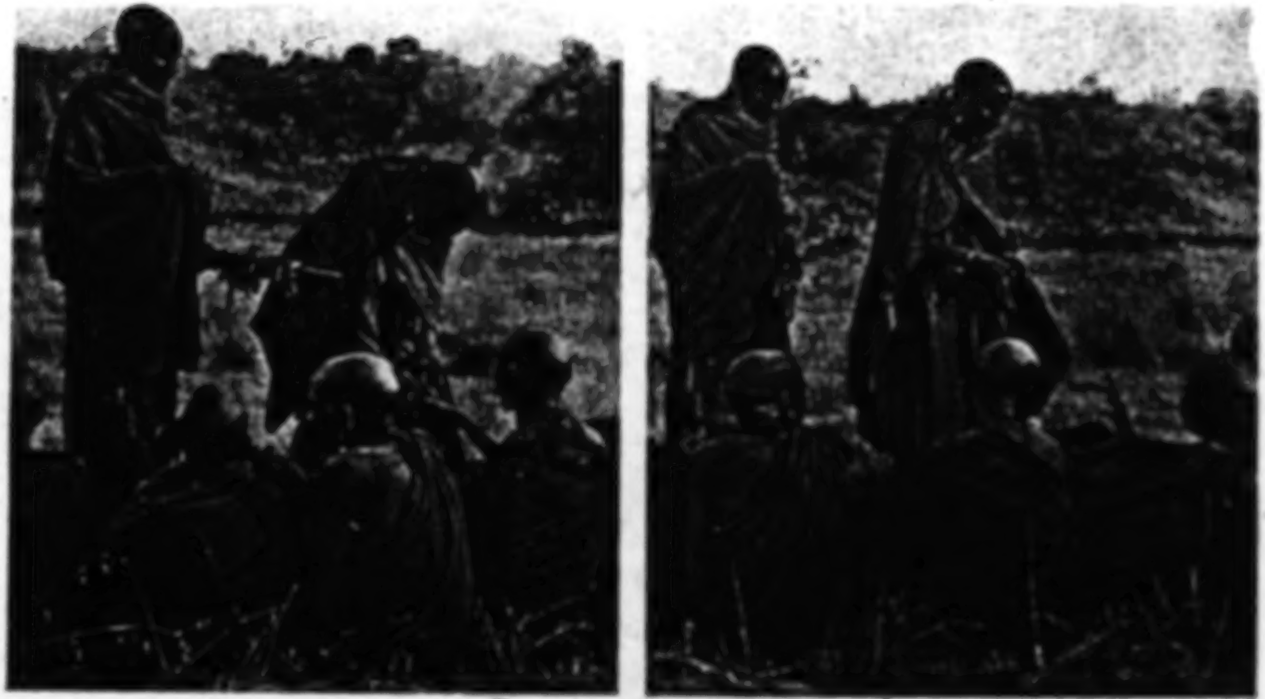

Fig. 3. THE HIDE STRIP

(*a*) *Hide strip is placed on middle finger of right hand;* (*b*) *Muran admires his ring.*

[p. 191-C]

[illegible]

[P. 192]

561 789 25 July, 1958, and the place was somewhere between Uaso Kedong and Suswa, *i.e.* west of the Kedong River in the Rift valley below the Kikuyu escarpment in Kenya. The gathering site for the warriors was deep in the bush about two hours march from the *manyatta* outside of which the *O-singira* hut was located. Europeans in the party, in addition to myself, were Charles Hayes, Jack Couldrey and Jeremy D. Lunn. About 500 *moran*, heads shaved and reddened with ochre, carrying sticks instead of spears, sat around in a huge circle. The forehead of each warrior was rubbed with the heart of the slaughtered animal and then the *moran* took a bite of it. Following this, a strip of hide, about four or five inches long and one-half or one inch wide, pierced at one end by a one-inch slit, was placed over the middle finger of the right hand of each tribesman.

The magical significance of the heart and finger strip is not accurately known. Nothing magical is ever very clear! The heart probably signifies life and blood, and the binding of the warrior to cattle, the life-giver of the Masai. The significance of the hide strip is even more obscure, perhaps merely a symbol of brotherhood and of the association with cattle but possibly of sexual connexion (finger symbolizing male genitals, slit in skin female). If the latter, the individual Masai would certainly not be aware of this meaning, which would have originated long ago in an individual magician's mind and have been obscured for all others over the years. Finger strips and rings, and wristlets, are commonly (though not always) used as symbols of sexual union in East African tribes, *e.g.* the Wakamba use a finger ring from the knuckle hide of a goat as an amulet against male sexual impotence (Margetts, personal observation) and prior to marital sex consummation the Nandi groom wears a goatskin ring on his right middle finger and the bride a strip around her left wrist (Huntingford, 1953, p. 28). [171]

After this day-long ritual the tribesmen returned late at night to the *manyatta*, where further ceremony was carried out at the *O-singira* hut.

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113 Fosbrooke, Henry Albert, 'An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System,' *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Vol. XXVI (1948), pp. 1–50.

——, 'The Masai Age-Group System as a Guide to Tribal Chronology,' *African Studies*, Vol. XV (1956), pp. 188–206.

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are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, [233]
but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, 361
thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married
men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their
mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference [351]
between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the
elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it
may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such
as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is
probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In
the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the
enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the
fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family
has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has
more than one. The kraal, *enk-aŋ*, thus approximates to a village, for several [829]
families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word
being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *ol-marei*, "the family."
When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right 361
of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, 592
goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged
that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The
people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-taloishin*, the effect of
which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' 361
kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, 591
who constitute a company, *sirit*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With
the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if [561]
old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger
children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep [593]
with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any
time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants
of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

LIVESTOCK

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and
on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and
spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are
despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi.
The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world,
and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai [262]
warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him
spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that
there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some
other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however,
does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have
wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the
Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for
them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk
may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it
may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food
of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's 233
herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 85 sheep and goats, and 18
donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle
belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 101
Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section 161
called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and
become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages
at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and 361
Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on
Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, 481
though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather 501
high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks.
These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and 342
"Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the 361
closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are 351
surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of 184
the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and
practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*.
Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation;
but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more 131
head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of 233
all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, 648
however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel
noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks 175
(he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels 241
bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working
in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with
the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[12] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus
fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore 101
of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone 262
which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects;
but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the 164
appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal 144
of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally 101
of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he 561
enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, "one who is circumcised,"
and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an 304
elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

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[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.

[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.

[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.

[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

561 if they are not already married. They have duties also towards the uncircumcised boys as guardians and instructors, while the elders of the *ol-aji* senior to them (see p. 117) are said to be responsible for the *ol-aji* of the warriors. One hundred years ago Krapf wrote that the Masai had six age-divisions: "(1) Engera, little children. (2) Leiok, boys. (3) Elmoran or elkeiteau, from 17 to 20 or 25 years of age. These have not yet married wives, nor obtained cattle of their own. . . . (4) Ekieko, who marry and have cattle of their own. (5) Esabuki, older than the Ekieko. (6) The Elkijaro or Elkimirisho, the aged persons."[16] A woman is classed as a girl (small, *en-kiyio;* older, *en-tito*) till married, when she becomes *e-siankiki*, "young married woman," and then *en-kitok*, married woman.

Kinship and Behaviour

601 [171] The Masai kinship system stresses agnatic descent, and in this respect differs somewhat from the kinship systems of the Nandi peoples; but the distinction between agnates is not taken into the third and second ascending generations. The Masai system is therefore different from the Nandi *tiliet;* and though the word *-sotua*, meaning both "peace" and "relative" occurs in the Masai system, it is not used with the group-significance of the Nandi term *tiliet*. The Masai system has not yet been studied in detail, and the following analysis is based mainly on Hollis's account, the fullest that we have.[17] Certain alterations and additions have been made after discussion with John Tombo ole Mbaei; but there are considerable discrepancies between him and Hollis, and this analysis must be regarded as purely provisional.[18]

There are 11 terms used of both kindred and affines, together with two others used only of affines. The words *koko, papa*, and *yieyio* are used without gender signs; *koko* is derived from *enk-oko; papa* and *yieyio* are the correct words for "father" and "mother" (not *menye* and *yoto*, which mean "father of" and "mother of"). *Apu* and its derivatives take gender signs (*ol-apu, o-le-nk-apu, en-e-nk-apu, ol-aputani, enk-aputani*); as do *akui* or *akuyia* (*ol-akui, enk-akui*); *sotua* (*o-le-sotua, en-e-sotua*); *e-sindani* (only feminine); *ol-ayioni, en-tito*, meaning son and daughter (both covered by *en-kerai*, "child," referring to either sex); and *ol-alashe*, brother, *enk-anashe*, sister, which have in addition the internal change of L to N indicating the feminine.

In the third ascending generation all males are *ol-akui* and all females *koko*. In the second ascending generation, all males are *ol-akui*, except the father's mother's brother, who is *ol-apu*. The wives of all *-akui* are *koko;* but the wife of *ol-apu* is *yieyio*. The husbands of *koko* are: (1) of father's brother's sister, *ol-aputani;* (2) of father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister, *o-le-sotua*.

In the first ascending generation, the father and his brothers are *papa*, the mother and her sisters *yieyio*, as well as father's sister. Mother's brother is *ol-apu*. Father's brother's and mother's brother's wives are *yieyio;* husband of father's sister is *ol-aputani*, of mother's sister, *o-le-sotua*.

In a man's own generation, brother and father's brother's son are *ol-alashe*, and their wives *e-sindani*, brother's wife being distinguished as *e-sindani e-anyit* to indicate closer relationship. Sister and father's brother's daughter are *enk-anashe*, and their husbands *ol-aputani*. Father's sister's son is *ol-apu*, and his wife *yieyio;* mother's brother's son is *o-le-nk-apu* and his wife *yieyio*. Father's sister's daughter is *en-e-nk-apu* and her husband *o-le-sotua*, a term applied also to mother's sister's son and daughter (masc., *o-le-*, fem., *en-e-*), and to the husband of the mother's brother's daughter, who is *en-e-nk-apu*.

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[16] *Vocabulary*, pp. 14, 15. In modern spelling, the Masai words are *en-kerai, il-ayiok, il-murran*. The remaining words are names of age-sets. (See p. 116.)

[114] [17] *JRAI*, 1910, XL., pp. 473–82. This supersedes Merker's account in *Die Masai*, pp. 40–3. There is an excellent analysis of the Masai system by Radcliffe-Brown in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 18–22.

[18] It may be mentioned, however, that the use of terms within a tribe is not always uniform, as I have found among the Nandi; and this may sometimes account for apparent discrepancies.

553 and three old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been 852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. 551 People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities. There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-na*, "daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of tecnonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" So-and-so, i.e., if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ŋoto Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

551 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the 768 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onana, "the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nana* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *polpol*, "smooth."

Circumcision (E-murrata)

881 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may 304 be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circumcised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group correspond- [171] ing in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *em-polosata e-sita*, "the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at [824] this time *e-latim*,[11] which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blocked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds [884 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered: 292] during this time he is known as *o-sipolioi* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *i-surutia* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barnoti*, "the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-sipolioi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphæne palm, *ol-merisian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

●561 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Taveta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Il-Kisalie and Il-Merisho are recorded by Fosbrooke from the Kisonko: the first is given by Hollis as occurring in 1806 among the Masai, and in 1774 among the Taveta; the second, in 1874 among the Masai, and in 1879 among the Taveta. Moreover, all the names in Hollis's list from Il-Merisho in 1874 to Il-Kinyoyo in 1791 are found in the Taveta system (Lumerisho, 1879, going back to Lukinyoo in 1684 by 15-year intervals).[22] This repetition of names suggests the possibility of an original cyclic system.

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[11] *Zizyphus mucronata*; normally called *ol-oilalei*.

The actual working of the Masai system is still not absolutely clear, but Fosbrooke has done much towards solving the problem. The main facts seem to be as follows. A boy is not born into a set, as among the Nandi, for his set does not come into existence as a named group till after circumcision. About two years before a circumcision takes place, the elders of the set immediately senior to the existing warrior group (*ol-aji*) start the process of inaugurating a new set, at a ceremony called *em-polosata;* this, as we have seen, is described by Hollis as a ceremony performed by individual fathers (p. 116 above), while Fosbrooke regards it as a national ceremony performed by the *Il-keek-onyokie* in Kenya as a common ceremony for all Masailand. The elders who take part in the inauguration become the sponsors, *il-piron* (lit. "fire-sticks"), of the new set, and the guardians and instructors of the initiates, thus corresponding to the Nandi *moterenik*. The *em-polosata* is followed by a ceremony called *en-duŋore*, "the cutting," which closes the current period of circumcision; at this ceremony the formal relationship of instructor and initiate is established. After this, there follows a series of activities called *en-kipaata*, beginning with a dance which gives its name to these activities.[23] Between now and the opening of the circumcision the boys go round collecting candidates for initiation. In each circumcision area the *il-piron* and a few boys also go to the tribal laibon, and apply for his sanction to open the circumcision. When [624] they return, the boys elect a representative called *ol-aiguenani* (pl. *il-aiguenak*), "the counsellor," who must have special qualifications of birth, physique, and social status, and is chosen from among those of their number who have distinguished themselves in the debates which are held frequently, and are in consequence called *ink-opir*.[24] The duties of the *ol-aiguenani* are to act as intermediary between the warrior company to which he will presently belong and the laibon, to maintain liaison with other companies, to arbitrate in disputes, and to organize raids. He is confirmed in his office by being given a black club which has been blessed by the *il-piron* elders.

Each age-group or "generation," *ol-aji* (pl. *il-ajijik*), is divided into two age-sets, *il-porrorri* (sing. *ol-porror*), the first or senior known as *e-murrata e-tatene,* "the right-hand circumcision," the second or junior as *e-murrata e-kedianye,* "the left-hand circumcision." Those of the Right Hand are circumcised first over a period of four years, and when the circumcision is finished the young warriors divide into *i-sirit* or companies formed on a territorial basis, each of which has its own barrack, *e-manyata*. Soon after this, the preliminaries for the formation of the next *ol-porror,* the Left Hand, are undertaken, i.e., the *em-polosata, en-duŋore,* and *en-kipaata* as for the previous *ol-porror*. About seven years from the beginning of their circumcision period the Right Hand become senior warriors by means of a ceremony called *e-unoto,* "the setting up," for as junior warriors, during the three years or so between the end of their circumcision and the *e-unoto,* they have begun to fight the senior warriors (of the previous *ol-porror*) for the full privileges of warriorhood. These they get by means of the *e-unoto,* and at the same time they elect a ceremonial leader called *ol-otuno* (Kisonko, *ol-aunoni*). As senior warriors they may marry. About eight years from the beginning of the Right Hand circumcision the Left Hand

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[22] The Taveta are a Bantu tribe living to the east of Kilimanjaro; they have strong Masai connections.

[23] *En-kipaata* also means a dance held by warriors before a raid.

[24] *Ink-opir* means "ostrich feathers," and indicates seniority, as in the term *Il-cagen-opir* applied to the senior division of each age-set. The *ink-opir* are the lieutenants of the *ol-aiguenani*.

561 are circumcised, over a period of three to four years, forming their *sirit* in the same way as the Right Hand. The preliminaries for the formation of the next age-set (*ol-porror*) which will belong to another "generation" (*ol-aji*) then take place; and about seven years from the beginning of their circumcision period the Left Hand become senior warriors through their *e-unoto*. When the Right Hand of the next *ol-aji* is getting near its *e-unoto*, both the Right Hand and Left Hand of the current *ol-aji* go through the ceremony called *ol-gesher*, by which they become elders; this is about 21 years from the beginning of the Right Hand circumcision, and 14 from the beginning of the Left Hand circumcision. It will be noticed that since the *ol-gesher* is common to both Right and Left Hand, the Left Hand men have a much shorter period as warriors; hence the Left Hand is considered slightly inferior to the Right Hand. Fosbrooke thinks that the *ol-gesher*, performed by the Kisonko, is a common ceremony for all Masailand, just as the *em-polosata* is a common inaugural ceremony. At the *ol-gesher* the outgoing warriors remove their pigtails, and a ceremonial leader called *o-loo-surutia* is chosen for the whole outgoing *ol-aji* in place of the two former *il-otuno*.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE SUCCESSION OF IL-AJIJIK AND IL-PORRORRI
(Based on Fosbrooke)

Year	Ol-Aji		Ol-Aji	
	Right hand	Left hand	Right hand	Left hand
1	Em-polosata			
2	En-duŋore			
3	En-kipaata			
4				
5	E-murrata			
6				
7	Form *manyata*	Em-polosata		
8		En-duŋore		
9	*E-unoto*	En-kipaata		
10				
11		E-murrata		
12				
13			Em-polosata	
14		Form *manyata*	En-duŋore	
15			En-kipaata	
16		*E-unoto*		
17				
18	Senior		E-murrata	
19	Warriors			
20	may	Senior		
21	marry	warriors	Form *manyata*	Em-polosata
22		may		En-duŋore
23		marry		En-kipaata
24	*Ol-gesher*	*Ol-gesher*	*E-unoto*	
25				
26	End of ol-aji as a warrior force			E-murrata
27				
28				
29				Form *manyata*
30				
31				
32				*E-unoto*
33			Senior	
34			warriors	Senior
35			may	warriors
36			marry	may
37				marry
38			*Ol-gesher*	*Ol-gesher*
			End of ol-aji as a warrior force	

The members of each *ol-porror* are circumcised in batches. Each batch forms 561
an associating group throughout Masailand (like the *mat* of the Nandi), and has a permanent name which recurs in each age-set, and in each succeeding age-set. There are four such groups in the Right Hand; they are called *Il-cagen-opir,* "the big ostrich feathers," senior;[33] *Il-parigotua lag,* "our swift runners"; *Il-kirimbot* (meaning unknown); and *Il-tareto,* "the helpers," junior. The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women [562]
have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *ol-porror* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised.

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man- [182]
power for fighting, and through them are still taught discipline and respect for elders; they thus affect behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of 561
junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. 701
Membership of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the unmarried girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to oxen for eating. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watering and night herding, there is a constant tendency in some tribal sections to raid their neighbours.

Clans

Clans (*in-kishomin*, sing. *en-kishomi*) are divided into sub-clans or primary 614
divisions, *il-gilat*, sing. *ol-gilata*. They are dispersed throughout Masailand, among all the tribes (*il-oshon*), and are totemic and patrilineal.[34] It is not certain how many clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Masai themselves. The exogamous unit is probably the *ol-gilata*, though Tombo ole Mbaei says that

	Hollis	Merker	Fosbrooke
Clan:	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser
Sub-clans:	In-Kidogi	En-Kidog (1)	En-Kidog
	Il-Parkeneti	Il-Parkeneti (1)	Il-Parkeneti
	I-Lukumai	I-Lukumai (1)	
	Il-Partimaro	Il-Partimaro (1)	Il-Partimaro
		Il-Parsinko (2)	Il-Parsinko
		Enk-aji nanyokie (2)	Enk-aji nanyokie
Clan:	I-Lukumai		I-Lukumai
Sub-clans:	(According to Tombo ole Mbaei)		Kerin-kishu
		Sitayio (2)	Sitayio
Clan:	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian
Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian-aate		
	Il-Mamasita	Il-Mamasita (1)	
	Il-Pojos		
	Il-Kipuyioni	Il-Kipuyioni (2)	Il-Kipuyioni
	Il-Moshono		
	Il-Masagua	Il-Masagua (1)	Il-Masagua
	Il-Mokorere	Il-Mokorere (1)	Il-Mokorere
		Il-Muinko (2)	Il-Muinko
		Il-Parserenko (2)	Il-Parserenko
		Il-Parsinde (2)	Il-Parsinde

[*continued*

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[33] In Nandi the senior *mat* is called *Cagenopir,* usually shortened to *Coginish*.

[34] On the authority of Tombo ole Mbaei.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

[P.107-A]

SHORTER NOTES

● 561 The 'E-Unoto' Ceremony of the Masai. *By Lord Claud Hamilton. With three text figures*

135 The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *em-polosata*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *Em-polosata* is followed by *en-dungore* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two [535] ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be called *en-kipaata;* and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14–17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former, but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-unoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *muran* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *muran*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-unoto* is derived from the verb *a-un*, to plant upright or set up (*i.e.* a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *manyata* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the *muran* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl [342] friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a [361] long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts.

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 49 *muran* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 49 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ol-Otuno*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *murani* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ol-Otuno* is regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They [783] believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper.

[346] After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singira*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle [239] of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singira*, the *Ol-Otuno* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysophylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-it-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singira* faces that of the *Ol-Otuno's* hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.'

The *e-unoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10–13 June, 1959, at Entasekera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Deregeyani*.

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The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 'The Day of the Red Dance.' As dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

[P. 107-B]

● 561 535 [237] calling on every man to love his neighbour, and the crowd then call '*Hoi-yoor*' three times—a form of 'amen.' In the centre of the arena—about 70 yards across—some long poles were 'set up' in the ground. To the tops of these were tied some of the ostrich-feather headdresses which Masai *muran* like to wear; and on the branches of nearby trees were more of these and also a number of [292] the conical hats made from lions' manes—not unlike guardsmens' bearskins—which are worn on ceremonial occasions by those who have killed a lion with a spear.

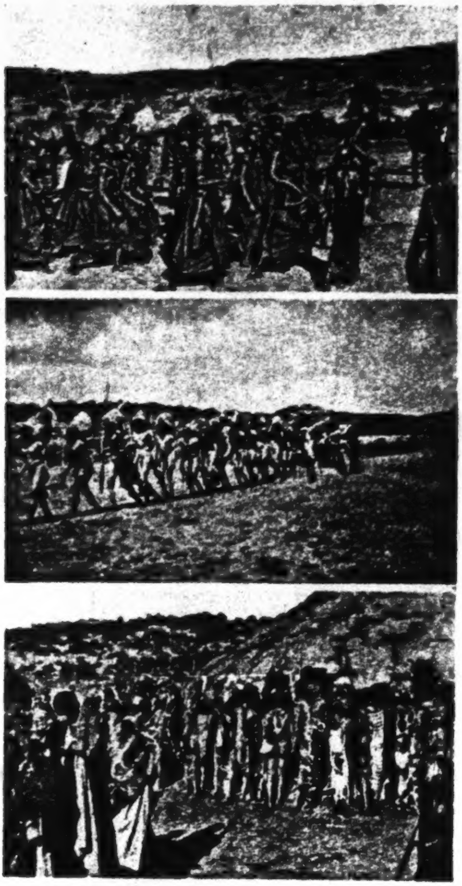

FIG 1. THE E-UNOTO, FIRST AND SECOND DAYS

Above, the Red Dance, girls and warriors dancing; middle, the White Dance, diatomite-smeared warriors dancing; below, the White Dance, bowing to the O-Singira. Photographs: Lord Claud Hamilton, 1959

[292] [302] The *muran* taking part in the Red Dance wear a single garment consisting of a length of russet-coloured calico knotted over the right shoulder and hanging down to the thighs. Their hair is worn shoulder-length (a feature of the young men of pastoral tribes of

561 535 [302] East Africa), and the whole body is smeared, from the crown of the head down, with a mixture of red mud and beef fat. The dancers gather together into groups of a dozen or more, all facing inwards towards a small open space. One young man steps forward into this space, makes a few prancing dance steps, and then starts to jump perpendicularly up and down, his long hair flying up above his head into a kind of halo at the top of each jump.

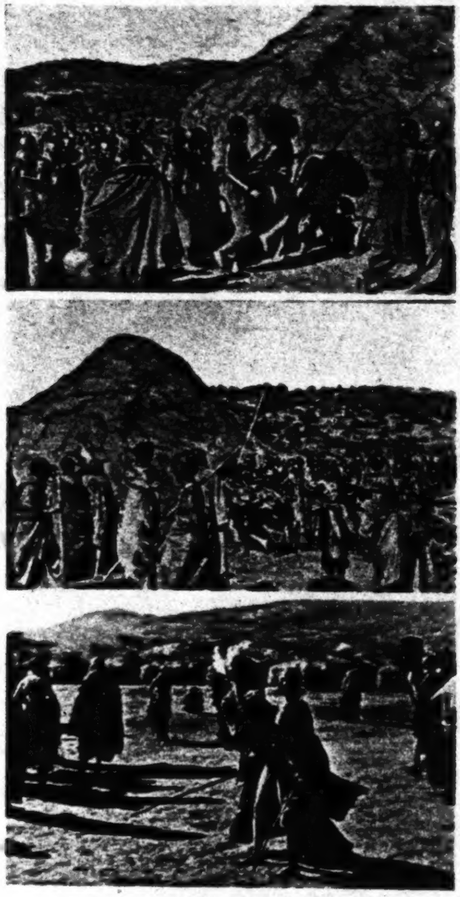

FIG. 2. THE DAY OF THE SACRED HUT

Above, warriors leading their families round the O-Singira; middle, the warriors throwing fits; below, warrior with feather headdress throwing a fit

Meanwhile the other dancers chant and grunt, awaiting their turn to jump. Now and then this type of dancing was abandoned and the dancers formed up to single file, going in procession back and forth across the centre of the *manyatta*. As the number of dancers increased, the young men became more and more excited and [158] soon a number were throwing fits. Foaming at the mouth, eyes staring, arms rigid at right angles to the body the sufferers stagger wildly about until friends come to their aid and hold them down. [276] These fits are caused by the habit of drinking an infusion of the

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535 bark of certain trees, a relic of the old cattle-raiding days, for when the fit has passed the sufferer loses all fear and is ready for battle. An unusual feature of the drug is that, once in a man's system, its effects last for life, and, given sufficient excitement, the man is liable to fits for the rest of his days.

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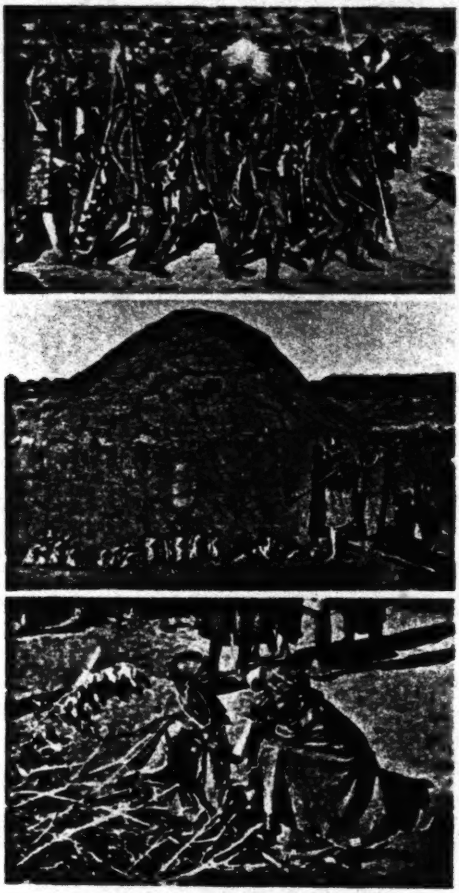
[302] The second day of *e-unoto* is called 'The Day of the White Dance.' Soon after sunrise the *muran* went off into the bush to



[346]

[302]

Fig. 3. E-UNOTO CEREMONIAL

Above, some of the 49 'Pure Ones' dancing with their comrades; middle, the Ol-Otuno, *who is the first to be shaved, and who wears white diatomite on face and legs, leads his family round the* O-Singira; *below, a mother shaving her son's eyebrows as he sits on the beaded circumcision hide.*

[484] paint their bodies with diatomite. This white, chalklike substance is brought on foot from the Eburru Mountains near Naivasha in The Rift Valley. To bring it, two senior *muran* of good character are chosen, and they go off dressed in women's clothing and ornaments, carrying bamboo staves and cattle-branding tools as a sign that they are on a peaceful errand. Nearing the destination they stalk the diatomite as if it were game. Then they give the

561 warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of
535 Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop.
[386] They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are
[574] treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed
on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

[262] Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai
[534] musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

561 Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure
[302] ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in
[413] place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Otuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family
[825] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open
[554] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing
[789] green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Otuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Otuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Otuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on
[352] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Otuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

[P. 109-B]

561 The fourth and last day is called "The Day of Shaving." Today
[789] the parents take the hide ring off their son's finger and tie it to the stopper of the gourd which his mother uses for milk. On this day, too, each of the *moran* gives a black bead to the *Ol-Onme* who
[754] makes them into a necklace. In later life, if one of the givers ever does him any harm, the *Ol-Onme* throws that one bead away—and the giver dies.

[302] The final act of the ceremony is the shaving of the youths' heads. This is done in the same way as yesterday with the 49. It is a solemn, indeed sad, operation and many a mother was in tears at the thought that her treasured son was no longer a boisterous youth and must soon assume the almost Roman *gravitas* affected by the adult male Masai.

18: Merker

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[For additional information on the Ol Morani (warriors) where age-class is not specifically stressed, and particularly for information on life in the warrior kraal, see category 701.]

582 /47 cont./
[614] by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a
[178] legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this
[583] case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed
[613] to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her
• [561] mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his
age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(ol boror) or to his age-class association (ol adji). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Masai are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between foster brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as [613] incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[564] [328] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

Widows (eñ goliai, ñ golia) or divorced women who have living [587] sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to [565] marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. [595] The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/60 cont./

881 [791] [634] The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by the ol oiboni. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years ('l ari omeratyeki 'l aijok) begin, that is, the following four to five /61/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (1) for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys cir-

• [561] [791] cumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ol borõr) and that this age class is given a definite name by the ol oiboni. The circumcision period is ended by the ol oiboni ordering the en gebãta. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

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Ill. 17. Masai boys.

C.G. Schillings phot.

[613] 1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiborõn always takes place on the 20th day of the Masai month.

/67 cont./

881 of grass (ol márisian), into the front of which she sticks an ostrich
[301] feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On
[302] the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among
themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle
[583] and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom
of the es siñgiki (pl. es siñgikin) -- this is the title for a circumcised girl and for a young woman -- learns that she is well again, he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcisionless years for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of the girls, as, indeed, is in the nature of the matter; rather, they may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

000 Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other.

561 As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the
Masai the social position is assigned to the single individual in general
[562] by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the lord living for his own pleasures; far below him stands the woman, who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy (ol aijoni, el aijok); during the preparation for circumcision and until after the healing of the wound, he is called os siboli (pl. es sibolio). Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is introduced to the warrior's life and during this period is called ol barnoti (pl. el barnot). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded as a full-fledged warrior, ol morâni (pl. el móran). As such the Masai spends his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at the age of 28-30 in order to get married and, as ol móruo (el moruak), 561 /69/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en dito, n ditje), is called es sibeli (pl. es sibelia) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is first called e siangiki (pl. siangikin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n akitok (pl. n akituak) or en dangile (pl. n dangilin), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' ngoroyoni = married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Koko = old woman.

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Ill. 31. Men and woman with child.

561
576 The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

/88 cont./

561 The terms of address between male individuals
976
ol aijoni to ol móruo ol bayan.
ol barnoti to ol móruo ol bayan.
ol moráni to ol móruo ol bayan.
ol móruo to ol móruo ol móruo.

/89/

ol aijoni to ol moráni ol moráni.
ol barnoti to ol moráni êoi.
ol moráni to ol moráni êoi.
ol móruo to ol moráni 'l aijoni.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 32. Older men.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 33. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

/69 cont./

• 561
576

ol aijoni to ol barnoti: lé moráni,
ol barnoti to ol barnoti: ērō,
ol moráni to ol barnoti: ērō, if slight age difference,
ol moráni to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if greater age difference,
ol móruo to ol barnoti: 'l aijoni.

/70/

ol aijoni to ol aijoni: ērō,
ol barnoti to ol aijoni: ērō,
ol moráni to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni,
ol móruo to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni.

Merker phot.

Ill. 24. Mother with children.

The terms of address between female individuals:

[291]
→

en dítŏ to koko: koko,
es siĕṅgiki to koko: jéjo (= mother) or koko,
koko to koko: eṅg aini ai, which means that the husbands on both sides belong to the same ol borŏr or ol adji.
en dítŏ to es siĕṅgiki: n akitok,
es siĕṅgiki to es siĕṅgiki: 'siĕṅgiki, if only slight age difference,
es siĕṅgiki to es siĕṅgiki: jéjo, if greater age difference,
koko to es siĕṅgiki: na gerai (= child).

en dítŏ to en dítŏ: nairo,
es siĕṅgiki to en dítŏ: na gerai,
koko to en dítŏ: na gerai or na gerai ai (= my child).

The terms of address between male and female individuals:
ol aijoni to koko: koko or jéjo,
ol barnoti to koko: koko, jéjo or 'n akitok,
ol moráni to koko: koko, jéjo or 'n akitok,
ol móruo to koko: e' ṅgorojoni, if slight age difference,
ol móruo to koko: koko or 'n akitok if greater age difference.

/70 cont./

561 576 ol aijoni to es siĕñgiki: 'n akitok,
ol barnoti to es siĕñgiki: 'n akitok,
ol moráni to es siĕñgiki: 'n akitok,
ol móruo to es siĕñgiki: e' ñgorojeni.

ol aijoni to en dítŏ: nairo, if slight age difference,
ol aijoni to en dítŏ: naito, if former is considerably younger,
ol barnoti to en dítŏ: nairo,
ol moráni to en dítŏ: nairo,
ol móruo to en dítŏ: na gerai.

en dítŏ to ol aijoni: ĕrŏ, if only slight age difference,
en dítŏ to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni, if greater age difference, in which case the girl usually calls mockingly 'n ĭñguini = pygmy, little man,
es siĕñgiki to ol aijoni: ĕrŏ or 'l aijoni, if slight age difference,
es siĕñgiki to ol aijoni: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol aijoni: na gerai or na gerai ai.

/71/

en dítŏ to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if slight age difference,
en dítŏ to ol barnoti: lĕ moráni, if the latter is considerably older,
es siĕñgiki to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if slight age difference,
es siĕñgiki to ol barnoti: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol barnoti: na gerai or na gerai ai.

en dítŏ to ol moráni: lĕ moráni,
es siĕñgiki to ol moráni: name, if slight age difference,
es siĕñgiki to ol moráni: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol moráni: na gerai or na gerai ai.

/71 cont./

561 en dito to ol móruo: bǎbǎ.
576 es siĕṅgiki to ol móruo: bǎbǎ, or ol móruo, if the latter is almost the same age as her husband.
koko to ol móruo: ol móruo.

[572] Friends often address each other with ol djore lai or ol jerai = my friend.

Instead of the address term 'n akitok, an ol barnoti or an ol morăni says to an es siĕṅgiki whom he has known from childhood 'siĕṅgiki or es siĕṅgiki, whereas an ol móruo in the same case uses the address term naito. The term of address "'n akitok" for an es siĕṅgiki is more polite than "siĕṅgiki," the latter used toward a strange es siĕṅgiki would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term es siĕṅgiki also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your es siĕṅgiki."

The obsolete term address en dagile, used for 'n akitok, is often regarded nowadays as affectedly polite.

[601] [651] [431] The terms of address required by kinship or livestock-gift take precedence over the above.

/71 cont./

IX.

000 Age classes. -- The annual courses of an age class. -- Age-class association. -- Organization of the circumcised. -- Choice of speaker and of the ol aunoni; their activity. -- Festivities at the formation of an age-class association. -- Significance of the age classes. -- Division of an age class. -- Names of age classes.

• 561 All the boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years belong to an age class (ol borŏr). Within them the boys form, since they are circumcised at yearly or somewhat longer intervals, annual courses by way of divisions.

The first annual course of an age class is the el jaṅgĕn ŏbĭr; they are followed by the el barińgo-duallan; the youngest annual course of the ones circumcised during the circumcision years is the el gerimbot. They are followed by a fourth one, the el oirogua. These are circumcised only after /72/ the circumcision years have officially ended by the celebration of the eṅ gebāta festival ordered by the ol oiboni. Anyone who wishes to be circumcised after this festival may not take part in celebrating the above-mentioned festival, otherwise his circumcision is not permitted.

Every two age classes together form an association (ol adji) in which the older is designated as the right circumcision (emorat' ertatenne), the younger one as the left circumcision (emorat' ekediēnje). Each of them has definite rules forbidding for them the uttering of certain words or the enjoyment of certain foods. The emorat' ertatenne may eat neither head nor tail pieces of slaughtered livestock and do not say eṅg ań en dare for goat-kraal, /Ill. 25 appears here/ but rather e merata en dare; moreover, they say ol ogunja for head, and not ol ukuṅgu, and for tail piece, not ol gorom, but rather en aisuba. The others may eat neither gourd nor cucumber, and for arrow poison they say en duerai, instead of e sajĕt. It is an insult, which often leads to immediate violence, if the one does or says the things forbidden to the other, which are called en dorotj, in the latter's presence.

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/72 cont./

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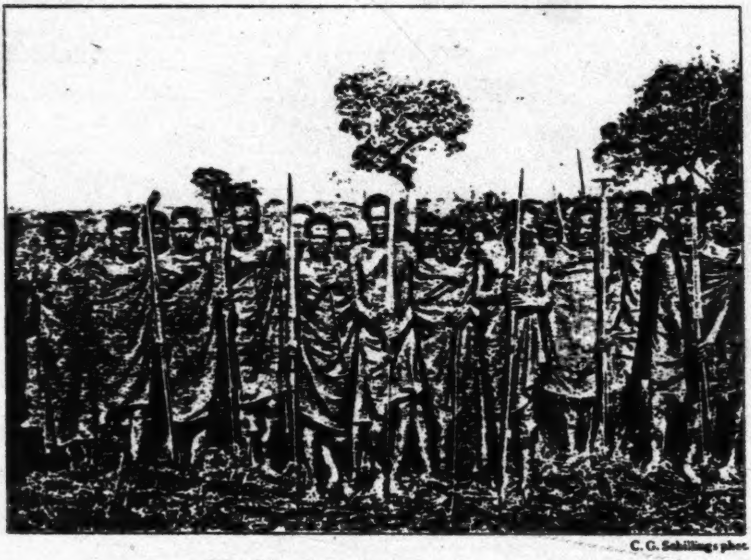

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 25. Warriors.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised
in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years
to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in
which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the en
gebāta festival are reckoned.

/73/ As long as the members of an age class still belong to the
warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head,
the speaker (ol aigwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior
561 kraal. But if those belonging to one ol borŏr are all married, they
634 are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not
only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age
[791] classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni to
arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank.
The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before
all the ol borŏr members have left the warrior standing. The speakers
of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon [301] [291] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ń gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk en̊ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor; if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] [721] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

/74 cont./

561 The principal activity of the ol aunoni consists in keeping the
634 people of his district together and protecting them from splitting
578 up, which could be more or less disastrous for the Masai. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted selfishness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the
[681] whole people. In such cases the ol aunoni asserts his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the ol aunoni is, as a
561 rule, made clear by the others by means of a beating. Besides this
634 activity, the ol aunoni, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between
[791] the people of his district and the ol oiboni, and sometimes his de-
[692] cision is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political shrewdness, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial presence. The conjecture that the ol aunoni might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

561 We have seen above that every two age classes form an associa-
791 tion. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the ol oiboni binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said be-
561 forehand -- has its own name, a common name. This takes place at
791 the ol ñehĕr festival. For this all the men of the association gather near the ol oiboni and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village.
527 Everyone brings honey for beermaking or a head of cattle for the food. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the eñ gebâta festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the ol oiboni that those assembled henceforth belong to one association (ol adji), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/74 cont./

• 561 701 The strict organization of the Masai war power rests primarily on the institution of the age classes. With circumcision the youth enters the army to perform his -- the universal -- military service, and, to be sure, as *ol barnoti*. His age class is that of the recruits and usually forms, together with the next higher one, that of the warriors, the peacetime strength of the standing army.

The next age class, the youngest of the married men, which performs no war service in peacetime, but also sets out in times of war, may /75/ be regarded as reserves and counted in the standing army. The older age classes take up arms only to defend their own district. There are two exceptions to this regular procedure. If a warrior feels still too young to leave the warrior standing along with the other *ol borŏr* members, he joins the next younger age class and is designated as *ol gaituĭ* (pl. *el gaitu*) of it. This is done especially often by those who belong to the last course of an *ol borŏr*, the *el oirogua*. The other instance occurs when a youth is heir to large herds of livestock and he lacks another man to be concerned

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 26. Older men.

/75 cont./

561 701 with managing them. He must then take over the property himself, and he marries soon after circumcision. He is taken into the youngest age class of the married ones and designated as ol ñosaniki (pl. el ñosanik) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company 100 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys fit for circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the remedy [291] of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out of one or even two annual courses, which the ol oiboni does by the bestowal of a special name. /76/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name at first, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition as a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when [291] the ones concerned have become older warriors. The ol oiboni gives the next name to the ol borõr after it has received an ol aunoni; he bestows the last one with the union of two el borõri into an ol adji, which then bears this new name until it dies out.

561 The present (that is, 1901) youngest age class is called el gischõn: it is the first of an association whose second has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger el kipuani and the older el meruturut. The latter were called el ñgarebut as youths and were given the name el merututut after a successful war against the Ukamba area. The next association is the 'L aimérr, consisting of the younger el kitoib and the older el merischo. The former, as recruits, were called el mañguscha; after a war against Uhehe, el ñgischañgob; and after the selection of the ol aunoni, el kitoib. The el merischo as youths were called el metaróni; after a successful war against Laikipia as el morán, they received the name es sógon; and after the ol aunoni selection; their present name.

Merker phot.

291 142 ← Ill. 27. Very old man.

/76 cont./

561 According to this, the institution of the age classes together
701 with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.
[703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised
702 exchange the long apron (ol gelá, el gelání) for the short skin-cape
561 (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their
[291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their
[302] heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnoti, formed from barno =
[411] bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the
bush to celebrate the ol geteń l oń gutui. Spear, shield, and sword
are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves.
As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide
themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect
[342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves.
701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and noth-
702 ing but meat! For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained
561 from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.
527
[262]
[822]

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-Masai.
Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no importance,
only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such opportunities,
however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to improve
themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (eñ giguana) (1)

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1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/77 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose
791 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the
speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest
el barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful
weapons. Each ol barnoti has brought along a fine head of
[431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates
as a gift for the ol oiboni. When they have then presented
their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next
day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the
name el gischon. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896
to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean: the generation
after those weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

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Brauer phot.

Ill. 28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol oiboni, they return to their
791 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
[714] name and then consult about the choice of a shield escutcheon.

/80 cont./

714
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Baumer phot.

Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
174 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidoñ. This
conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the
emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The
613 illustrations of Plate 2[1] show a collection of lineage emblems. We
see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the
shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
• [561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the
lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each
age class made up its own.

[1] [See p. 608--Analyst]

/81 cont./

714 531 613 • [561] The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the el meruturut age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of compeers of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

714 531 [703] Those warriors who take the lead in battle, the el kigeloni, have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 13, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

[704] The last emblem that may be included in the shield escutcheon is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 12, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the escutcheons of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

714 531 178 It is also to be mentioned that both the shield escutcheon as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fancied, sometimes garishness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield escutcheons of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the [721] other hand, /82/ one can observe almost daily on the Masai steppes that

714 /82 cont./
531 nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields,
178 with unaltered escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)
[721]

[177] 1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned Masaization.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

714 The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear as gaily
531 colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received
701 the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former
• 561 speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint
a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

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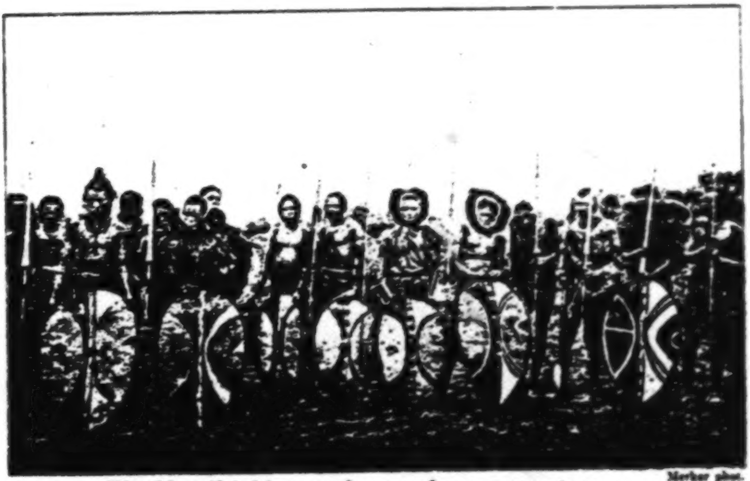
Merker phot.

Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/82 cont./
714 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear
701 in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem.
531 They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they
• 561 have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability,
to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors,
of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry those
emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they complete
their shield escutcheon in the aforesaid way and then carry it
714 /83/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry,
701 and scold. The el barnot, for whom the warriors have until then
531 been persons of respect, answer snappishly and impudently and scoff
561 that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need
578 nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded
of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach --
for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association --
of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-urchin
fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the
[591] same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move
in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation
of the warriors, for with that the el barnot declare that they too now
have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be regarded
as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of
this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the
growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the el barnot with
force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the
time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with
[721] all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding
and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the
701 warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have
561 brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as
[531] before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and
[714] are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the
kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to
war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long;
rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is therefore
an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the
same time.

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.

[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
• 561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the
other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bää, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown
hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon
as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself
and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of
those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on
sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls
and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks,
before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves
and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his
principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi
megur' ira ol morâni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ giachu inonu, ñ gera
inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, idà tada ol móruo,
tabala n dogitin bågin el móran, ida tada ol móruo": in translation:
I say, you are no longer Ol morâni, but Ol móruo, take care of your
cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the
occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all
things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior
kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end
of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai,
just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly,
they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song;
they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised el meg as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, [231] [178] which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen.

231 [262] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man [411] [416] shoots an arrow (Fig. 70) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol bonet), from which projects a scale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol hugur). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. 231 242 561 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/174 cont./

276 262 264 [573] out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol [illegible]) and for the wives of his father the head (ol [illegible]), paunch (ol [illegible]), the entrails ([illegible]), feet (ol [illegible]), as well as the hind leg without the rear half (ol [illegible]), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e [illegible]). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (ol [illegible]) and rear backs (ol [illegible]). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (ol [illegible]), a shoulderblade (ol [illegible]), a rear back, the rear part of the hind leg (ol [illegible]), the long belly-muscles for the uncircumcised boys, the ribs (ol [illegible]), a rear back, the filet (ol [illegible]), the "Lende /Lat/ Roastbeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (ol [illegible]), the heart (ol [illegible]). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e [illegible]) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e [illegible]), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (ol [illegible]) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (ol [illegible]), lungs (ol [illegible]), heart, and a hind leg (ol [illegible]), while he himself keeps the rest.

[573] From a warrior's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. [252] Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils the bones for soup, furthermore the fillets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

361 233 /177 cont./

animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms. [361] [701] [492] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors. Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or meat [701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues 361 462 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immediately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last [136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

/186 cont./

276 171 [177] have adopted many of their manners and customs the warriors regard becoming stricken with the em boschona as a sign of true, ferocious warriordom, and they frequently simulate it for this reason. Amidst whooping cries the simulator with spear in hand dashes out of the camp and would surely not inflict an injury on anyone, even if -- as in the /187/ cases observed among the Wadschagga -- a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

276 [152] The lack of any control over emotions and inclinations probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of em boschona. Its cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the aforementioned excitants, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only in a very 276 561 considerably lesser volume. Their harmfulness can be observed almost daily among the warriors in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the statements on this point made to me by the Masai agree) that only the warriors, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with em boschona, while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the warriors, and even during the first period as such, and furthermore married men, as well as girls and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small measure.

276 158 171 In this description of em boschona one is inevitably reminded of the running amok of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, em boschona is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of em boschona the copious use of those agents only a short time before will be indicated.

/217 cont./

681 Unknown in penal law are: an aggravated death penalty, for
example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view
that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has
sinned, as well as symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, a public
monetary fine besides the composition, public monetary fines in
general, a right of pardon.

683 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which,
however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life
579 of the warriors, who are impressed primarily by brute strength and
force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness is obvious and is
shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them.
Insofar as they seem useful for promoting personal courage, they
are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was
said above applies. For the brawls a stick or a club is used as a
weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent
to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm
holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently
that it is shattered. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken
bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just
described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their *ol aigwenani*,
gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he
once more /218/ engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this
prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified in killing him.

692 The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases;
in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the
• 561 warriors this is the speaker (*ol aigwenani*); for the older married men
[556] an older, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the
persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In con-
[628] troversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is
usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned
jointly confer and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a
definite decision, with the advice of an *ol aunoni*, whose voice is
then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas
a mixed council of elders decides. The *ol oiboni* may be regarded
as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those
692 cases which concern the commonweal. There are civil proceedings

/299 cont./

000 Among them the boys were clipped (circumc.) at the age of 10-12, the girls at the age of about six (exc. clit.). As bride price the husband paid the father of the bride 40 beehives and 12 pots of honey. After the birth of a child the woman did not leave the hut for five days. On the day of the first walk outside, her head and that of the new born child were shaved.

Several times during the month whole bands of older women and men, laden with honey and clay pots which they made themselves, set out for tribes engaged in agriculture, in order to get vegetable foods in exchange for them.

/300/ Nothing is known to my informants about the significance of the animal figures made out of clay that were seen in their kraals and huts.

They called God Schâbischab.

173 In contrast to the extensive and firmly established traditions from the remotest past stand the paucity and uncertainty of the information from more recent times. Coherent historical memory does not extend beyond a generation; what lies before that is uncertain. The somewhat certain information tells of war expeditions, livestock epidemics, drought, and similar unimportant events.
175 Therefore only the series of the age class associations, which,
561 incidentally, also has gaps and is uncertain, and that of the chiefs
791 are still to be completed:

El diñgi	ol oiboni: Kibebęte.
El kisaroni	ol oiboni: Sitonik.
El merischari	ol oiboni: Subęt.
El kidotu.	
El duati	ol oiboni: Mbatyan.
El ńiańgusi.	
'L aimerr	ol oiboni: Lenana (1).

1. Zendeo only belongs to the age class of the El kipuani, which at the present time is attached to the next older one, the El meruturut, not yet to an ol adji.

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• 561

Figure 21.

A Masai junior elder from Tanganyika. He has served his period as a warrior, then at the olngesherr ceremony he shaved off his pigtail hair-do and became a junior elder. The facial scarification marks him as belonging to one of the fringe sub-sections of the Masai tribe.

* 233 [231] Their ! livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life revolves around the grazing and water requirements of their livestock.

621 • 561 614 177 178 Their principal units of social organization, as they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades, villages, and families. Clans have an important place in ethnological discussions and in some areas they determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948). Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand the concept of clans is of more ethnological than ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the effect of the Government administration in Western Masailand.

With the physical and social upheavals in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through about 1920, the establishment of African District Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of the park and conservation unit, and various development projects, the clan and other social units have been greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this effect in some detail for the Masai in the former boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

! [i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

••• for Tanganyika.

561 181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the baisis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721 181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

857 *233 881 561 701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9).[1] Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murrani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumsized is given an age

[1] [See p. 53.--Analyst]

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
701 [881] group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
being the left hand grade. After several years the
[884] junior warriors go through another ceremony and become
full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by
their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords,
pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally
plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott
(1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and
variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
411 long. It has a long,narrow,double-edged blade, an
equally long but round and pointed tail, and between
them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft.
Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or
short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
411 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran
does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
411 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

411 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

• 561 Originally during the period of warriorhood
701 the morrani were not expected to do any work except
[712] fight. They lived in a separate village, called a
[562] _manyatta_, and were generally taken care of by the
[836] unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 Ostrich's were hunted to obtain feathers
[223] for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion
[301] for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran
[411] was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic
177 Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At
178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious
561 result is a large body of young men with absolutely
701 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years.of what
224 could be the most energetic period of their lives.
721 *[233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

177 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding
178
224 to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated
561 several minor wars when we were there, and administrative
701
721 action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants.
Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 Periodically the administration has tried
178
561 to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may
593 take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he
591 may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593
591 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
[582] share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[422] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
*233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of
beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings,
beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their
[304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and
stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear
bangles through them and the men use them to carry
snuff containers or other articles about the size of
a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may
[714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff
[561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some-
415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists
[513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned
492 above are always present. When moving from one place
to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two
large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of
sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are
tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs,
giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides,
lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on
443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are
purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of
the area or more recently from itinerate traders who
visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.